THE
NATION

Upsala College
Library
East Orange, N. J.

MARCH 10, 1962 . . 25c

THE PRECOCIOUS TED KENNEDY

Joseph A. Page

Anti-Communism in the Classroom

EDUCATION OR PROPAGANDA?

Lawrence E. Metcalf

THE NETWORK BLUFF

James Lawrence Fly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Origins of a Bank

Dear Sirs: Our attention has been drawn to your special issue of June 24, 1961, page 537, on which the following statements appear:

> Equally close and equally significant was the role that Allen Dulles played in the great Schroeder international banking house. The parent firm was German and was headed by Baron Kurt von Schroeder. . . . Outside Germany, the Schroeder financial empire stretched long and powerful tentacles. In England, it had J. H. Schroeder Ltd.; in the United States, the Schroeder Trust Company and the J. Henry Schroeder Corporation. Allen Dulles sat on the boards of directors of both.

The statement that the Schroeder banks in England and the United States were "tentacles" of a German parent firm headed by Baron Kurt von Schroeder is untrue.

In 1804, two young members of the Schroder family in Hamburg traveled to London to set themselves up in business there because their trading business in Hamburg was suffering from the British blockade of Napoleonic Europe. It was at that time that the British banking house of J. Henry Schroder & Co. came into existence and this bank, throughout its lifetime of more than 150 years, has been managed and controlled by British interests. In 1923, the British family of Schroder established the J. Henry Schroder Banking Corporation in New York and, in 1929, Schroder Trust Company, New York, was founded. Neither of the New York banks has ever been controlled from Germany and Baron Kurt von Schroeder has never owned, controlled or in any way influenced either the Schroder bank in London or the two Schroder banks in New York.

JOHN I. HOWELL, Vice President
J. Henry Schroder Banking Corp.
New York City

Target: Cities

Dear Sirs: May I commend you for publishing Roger Hagan's excellent article, "Community Shelters: the Bait and the Trap," in your February 24 issue?

One cavil occurs to me. Mr. Hagan contends that a planned Russian attack would have to aim at our cities, since the Russians have too few missiles to blanket our bases; *Life* argues from the same fact that the Russians would have to go first after bases, leaving our cities alone.

Actually, the question is more complex. The Russians, according to intelligence reports, have about 200 intercontinental bombers which, if they are of the same capacity as ours, can deliver about 10,000 megatons. These could hardly be kept on the ground, for fear of our counterattack; nor would they, anyway, *after* such a counterattack. Moreover, they could not be used against our bases, since they would arrive some hours after our missiles and bombers, tipped off by incoming missiles, had been deployed. These Russian bombers, with their 10,000 megatons, could only be used against our population.

This leads to the same conclusion Mr. Hagan reached — that a Russian attack or counterattack would be against population rather than solely against bases. But in the meantime, as you see, the ante has gone up.

CHRISTOPHER Z. HOBSON
Cambridge, Mass.

Pennies for Peace

Dear Sirs: The Pennies for Peace Committee congratulates *The Nation* for its thoughtful and fair coverage of the peace movement. . . . We hope that *Nation* readers will be interested in our plans for encouraging families in all U.N. member countries to save pennies for universal peace. The official Pennies for Peace, Inc. savings account at the First National Bank of Chicago already has thousands of penny savings on deposit. These savings will be converted into a certified check to U Thant, and will be formally presented to the U.N. on March 21, 1962, the first day of spring —the universal time of hope.

We invite everybody to join the sustaining penny-saving families by mailing, in a 4c stamped envelope, 7 token pennies to Pennies for Peace, Inc., Box 1309, Evanston, Illinois.

MARJORIE B. DOLKART, Chairman
The Pennies for Peace, Inc. Committee
Evanston, Ill.

On Guerrilla War

Dear Sirs: It is surprising to be accused by a reviewer of ignoring points that, in fact, form the central argument of one's book. Brian Crozier, discussing our *Guerrillas in the 1960's* [*The Nation*, Feb. 10, 1962] writes that "the authors never really come to grips with the problem in practical terms. There are really two quite separate issues. One is how to defeat guerrillas; the other is how to use guerrillas to defeat an enemy. The core of both is the same: success depends on gaining the support of the population. Paret and Shy, though they make frequent allusions to 'political factors,' never get deeper than a scratch on the surface."

Certainly we have not said all there is to say about guerrilla warfare. We do, however, emphasize the need to distinguish between guerrilla and counter-guerrilla operations (pp. 40-51, "The

(*Continued on page 224*)

In This Issue

EDITORIALS

205 ●

ARTICLES

208 ● The Underprivileged Majority
by JOHN J. LINDSAY

210 ● The Network Bluff
by JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

212 ● The Precocious Ted Kennedy
by JOSEPH A. PAGE

215 ● Anti-Communism in the Classroom: Education or Propaganda?
by LAWRENCE E. METCALF

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

217 ● The Persistence of the Executioner
by HUGO ADAM BEDAU

218 ● The Boss (poem)
by SIMON PERCHIK

220 ● Measure of Maturity
by GILBERT SORRENTINO

221 ● Theatre
by HAROLD CLURMAN

222 ● Films
by ROBERT HATCH

223 ● Art
by MAX KOZLOFF

223 ● Owl (poem)
by ROBERT S. SWARD

Crossword Puzzle (opp. 224)
by FRANK W. LEWIS

George G. Kirstein, Publisher
Carey McWilliams, Editor
Victor H. Bernstein, Managing Editor
Robert Hatch, Books and the Arts
Marion Hess, Assistant to the Editors

Harold Clurman, Theatre
Max Kozloff, Art
Benjamin Boretz, Music
Paul Blackburn, Poetry

Jane Stolle, United Nations Correspondent
Alexander Werth, European Correspondent

Mary Simon, Advertising Manager

The Nation, Mar. 10, 1962. Vol. 194, No. 10

The Nation, published weekly (except for omission of four summer issues) by The Nation Company and copyright 1962 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 333 Sixth Avenue, New York 14, N.Y. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Tel.: CH 2-8400.

Subscription Price Domestic—One year $8, Two years $14, Three years $20. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs, Information Service, Dramatic Index.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 10, 1962
VOLUME 194, No. 10

THE NATION

EDITORIALS

The Vietnam Booby Trap

In the wake of renewed assurances from President Kennedy, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, and Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara that, come what may, victory will be ours in South Vietnam, several of President Ngo Dinh Diem's own pilots blasted the palace of our volatile ally with bombs, rockets and machine guns. It was a gala international affair. The beloved mandarin President had inherited the palace, which was partly wrecked, from the French colonial administration. The two aircraft used by the dissident pilots were AD-6 Skyraiders supplied by the United States Navy. The pilots were South Vietnamese, paid from the United States Treasury, which so far has supplied $2 billion for the succor of the popular executive, whose life has been jeopardized by the South Vietnamese armed forces twice before. Even God was involved: "I and all the people in the palace were unharmed, thanks to the Almighty's protection," the eminent statesman announced, and gave orders that special prayers of thanks should be said in all Roman Catholic and Buddhist places of worship throughout the country.

Ordinary American citizens, continuing to shell out for aid to South Vietnam, and some of the 4,000 American troops currently involved in the South Vietnamese civil war, may wonder at times why we are in this morass up to our ears, with every prospect of sinking over our heads. The reason is that our China policy requires it. If Red China cannot be destroyed out of hand, at least it must be contained. Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Okinawa and South Vietnam are all American outposts in the undeclared war on the Chinese. So was Laos, where we succeeded in overthrowing the government of the neutralist Prince Souvanna Phouma which we are presently trying to restore. After surveying the situation, our military experts came up with the bad news that 300,000 men would be required to make over Laos in our own image, and even then we might not win if the Chinese chose to engage in a jungle war. Thus South Vietnam became the apple of our eye, all the more precious because it offers easy access by sea and land — and no nonsense about neutrality.

Likewise Ngo Dinh Diem, who a few months ago was barely tolerated in Washington, is now our dearly beloved, to whom we sing songs unmatched since those of Solomon. Diem's career shows that obstinacy is the principal virtue of an Asian statesman who wishes to be permanently supported by the American taxpayer and the American Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines. Diem was informed that he would have to cease being a dictator, get close to his people, crack down on graft and corruption, release non-Communist political prisoners, and take the advice of some experts besides his brother Ngo Dinh Nhu and Nhu's charming wife who, since Diem is a lifelong bachelor, serves as the Mme. Chiang-Kai-shek of South Vietnam. Diem indignantly rejected the advice and accused the Americans of exerting totalitarian pressures on him. It cannot be said that our representatives in the South Vietnam bailiwick are not adaptable. According to *Newsweek* (March 5) the word went out that, far from being a detested dictator, Diem is "very popular . . . among his people." At a Rotary Club meeting in Saigon, Ambassador Frederick E. Nolting, Jr., who had been fighting with Diem for months, hailed his "dedicated and courageous leadership." The U.S. military, whose syntax is a little shaky at times, counseled, "Don't let's knock the man we're trying to help." So Diem is sitting pretty.

But not we. Robert S. Browne, a program officer of the U.S. Foreign Aid Mission to Vietnam from 1958 to 1961, writes to *The New York Times*, "Unfortunately, President Diem has apparently hoodwinked American officials once again into increasing already excessive commitments to the maintenance in power of this corrupt regime." He warns us that, like the French (with their not inconsiderable military machine and American aid on an enormous scale), we may be defeated. He urges that a peaceful solution be at least attempted. Since our China policy is at the bottom of this perilous embroilment, it might be helpful to act on the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch's* suggestion that the President appoint a commission, not so much to study U.S. policy toward Communist China, as to induce the public to accept the necessity for a reconsideration of this policy in its entirety. The idea is so sensible, and so at variance with all that has gone before, that its chances seem slim, but it is a more hopeful alternative than our present commitment — or near commitment — to "sink or swim" with Diem.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Link Is Wrenched

The United States has experienced four business cycles since the end of World War II: 1948-50; 1953-55; 1957-59; 1960-62. The shortening intervals may be fortuitous, but Bernard D. Nossiter of *The Washington Post* calls attention to something more ominous in an article titled "'Recovery' Doesn't Produce Those Jobs." He gives the following table:

INCREASE IN NONFARM JOBS 11 MONTHS AFTER CYCLE TROUGH

1948-50	3,462,000
1953-55	2,170,000
1957-59	1,942,000
1960-62	949,000

In the last cycle, not only has the recovery in terms of jobs been weak, but most of it has already occurred. The increase in nonfarm jobs between the fifth and eleventh months following the trough was only 99,000.

Casting about for a bit of light amid the encircling gloom, the optimist may suggest that perhaps this latest recovery has not been as vigorous as that of the other three. But that is not the answer. Output of goods and services has risen just about as rapidly and *The Wall Street Journal* (February 28) headlines "Soaring Profits—Earnings Reach Record for Peacetime, Likely Will Rise This Quarter." Mr. Nossiter's tentative conclusion is that "it takes many fewer persons to turn out the same amount of goods, that productivity rose at a staggering pace, that machines are now doing much more of men's work. . . . It looks as if the old link between rising output and rising jobs has been wrenched severely."

What is perhaps as disconcerting as the figures is the President's vacillation. He has referred to the task of finding jobs in the era of automation as the gravest domestic challenge of the sixties. But in his most recent press conference and in his economic report, Mr. Kennedy has expressed the view that rising employment by itself would take care of the situation this time around. It is a view that puts a heavy burden indeed on the private sector of the economy, since not only is automation putting a drogue 'chute on re-employment, but over-all employment needs are rising steeply. In the fifties, the number of youths coming into the job market, less the number of job-holders going into retirement, was about 900,000 annually. In the present decade, the figure is expected to run about 1,350,000 annually.

The President has requested Congressional authority to cut taxes, start public-works projects in the amount of $2 billion and increase unemployment compensation whenever unemployment rises to a total of 1 per cent in a period of three out of four or four out of six consecutive months. This may be locking the barn after the horse is stolen; even so, Congress is reported to be unenthusiastic.

The labor unions are crying for jobs, but their thinking is far behind the times. They have only two remedies: shorter hours and more defense spending. Shorter hours run up against employer opposition and, in general, can be obtained only by strong unions whose members are in the least need of shorter hours and higher overtime. As for defense spending, Mr. Kennedy has already boosted the arms budget 25 per cent above General Eisenhower's, and the results are those noted above.

The President should receive the anti-recession authorizations he seeks. The McCarthy-King bill on supplemental unemployment insurance should be passed. Better still, the cumbersome and rickety unemployment-insurance setup should be revamped along the lines recommended by Richard A. Lester of the Princeton Department of Economics in "The Economics of Unemployment Compensation."

Farther upstream, the question asked by Ralph Helstein of the Packinghouse Workers will require an answer. "There are thousands of Americans," Mr. Helstein points out, "whose current income is unrelated to work. There are other thousands whose current income reflects work done at some previous point in time, either by themselves or their forebears. This suggests that income and work are not tied together by inexorable laws, but rather by the traditional operations of our economic system. The problem is: how do we assure income for workers if work is not available?"

Dove or Wolf?

In an important paper on "The Biology of Aggression in the Nuclear Age," Dr. Hudson Hoagland of the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology calls attention to some observations of ethologists like Irenaus Eibl-Eibesfeldt and Konrad Lorenz on the fighting behavior of animals. In general, the more heavily armed a species is by nature, the less likely its members are to kill one another in combat. A rattlesnake can kill another rattlesnake with one bite, but instead of biting, they wrestle. When one succeeds in pushing his opponent's head to the ground, dominance is established and the fight is over. Wolves engage in a kind of fencing match, slashing, but not biting, with their teeth. When a wolf realizes he is outmatched, he bares his throat to the fangs of his opponent. The winning wolf continues to growl and snarl, but some instinct of moderation makes it impossible for him to execute his opponent. If it were not so, there would no longer be wolves. Many birds, when they fight, likewise recognize surrender signals. Only supposedly harmless animals like doves and rabbits, lacking this built-in self-protection, are apt to fight to the death.

In the condition in which he is born, man is one of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the most helpless of animals. Even when grown, he is not very formidable: Arthur Brisbane never tired of picturing an adult gorilla locked in a room with ten (or was it twenty?) of the leading heavyweights of the world; if they molested him he would simply tear their arms and legs off and go on about his business. Lacking fighting teeth, claws or horns, a protective skin, large size, great strength or remarkable speed, man has equipped himself with artificial weapons which threaten to destroy him. The question which now faces him is whether he will be as foolish as the dove, or as wise as the wolf. The beast's conduct is dominated by reflexes, man's supposedly by intelligence; but is it, really?

The Costs of Space

In his address before the joint session of Congress, Colonel Glenn said some things that were corny, some that were witty, some that were inspiring, and some that were prophetic. Among the last, none was more worthy of attention than his warning that things would not always go well, that disaster and sacrifice must be expected. In the flush of triumph, we must not forget that in astronautics, too, there will be a Lieutenant Selfridge — the young Signal Corps officer who was the first American military flier to lose his life in an air accident.

Against this cost, money may not seem important; but it is, for it, too, involves human lives. The amount spent so far on Project Mercury is about $400 million — not much by current American standards. But the moon project will run, according to early estimates, between $20 billion and $40 billion; and some estimates for space spending during the rest of the decade go as high as $150 billion. What with the "population explosion" and the "revolution of rising expectations," American spending on this scale can lead only to the immediate gross neglect of the earth and the inhabitants thereof. The fact is that aid to under-industrialized countries in the foreseeable future must come mainly from the United States. If we spend it in space we cannot give it to them, and in that case there will be explosions which will take care of the population explosion only too surely.

The Soviet Union is in much the same position. The emerging countries look to it for aid as well as to us; and what is more, the people of the Soviet Union look to the Soviet regime for a better life. No doubt this accounts in some degree for Premier Khrushchev's bid for cooperation in space, but that is no reason for laughing off his suggestion, as some members of Congress are already doing. The fact is that all the advanced nations are headed for trouble in a world of haves and have-nots. Some of the trouble could be avoided if the United States and the Soviet Union could pool their resources in at least some aspects of space exploration. No doubt the race for the moon must go on; it is too intimately tied up with military rivalry and prestige. But it is quite possible that in such fields as communications and weather prediction (although these, like everything, have military aspects) the expense might be shared, both sides would gain in know-how and lives might be saved also.

President Kennedy, among others, has likened space to the ocean of Columbus' day. Colonel Glenn quoted Faraday's counter-question, "What good is a baby?," when Faraday was asked what good electromagnetism was. But the analogy is invalid. Columbus promised Isabella and Ferdinand treasure as well as empire, and his descendants delivered on the promise. The treasure came from America instead of from Cathay, but the continent laid open to exploitation was of this world, with the basic resources of soil, water and, above all, air. Space offers nothing but a vast vacuum to be traversed. The planets may contain something worth the initially enormous cost of bringing it back, but a banker would hardly lend money on the possibility. By present indications, space is an illimitable sink of capital, not a new source of wealth, and we would do well to seek partners in what looms as a truly great enterprise, but one which is likely to remain in the red for a long time.

English Spoken

The virtue of the English language is that it combines, perhaps more effectively than any other tongue, a high degree of flexibility with a capacity for unambiguous precision. But the relative freedom permitted by the structure of the language carries with it the danger that, in careless or ignorant hands, crispness of expression will be blunted and shades of meaning obliterated. The lexicographer of English, therefore, has a particular duty to defend the niceties of the language against the erosion of vulgar usage.

But this duty Dr. Philip B. Gove, editor of the recently published Third Edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary* (Merriam), specifically renounces. His job, as he sees it, is to determine what prevails and to canonize that into law. Dr. Gove is himself a scholar of an older school and does not in his own speech confuse "who" and "whom," "will" and "shall," "like" and "as." He does not "finalize" his reports or "contact" his friends. But he is a victim of the pseudo-egalitarianism of the times that, in conformity with advertising practice, seeks to establish the lowest common multiple as the norm.

It is no more snobbish to insist that words be used correctly than it is finicky to insist that chisels be sharp. They work better that way. Accordingly, this magazine will continue to cite the Second Edition of *Webster's International* as its authority.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Underprivileged Majority . . *by John J. Lindsay*

Washington

SIGNS are up that the sleeping giant, urban America, which now constitutes more than two-thirds of the nation's population, is straining at the bonds of its political thralldom to rural America — and with some chance of success. Powerful political, social, legal and economic forces are gathering against a prevailing rural-rigged apportionment process that permits one-third of the American people to impose its will on the other two-thirds.

The forces at work include the irritation of an activist President grown weary of the cool reception accorded his programs in Congress by those whom *The Wall Street Journal* recently described as "the faceless men from the crossroads hamlets." The President, himself a product of the urban, industrial Northeast, placed the issue squarely before Congress by demanding a showdown on his proposal to create a new Department of Urban Affairs. As if this were not challenge enough to Congressional deadweights, he boldly named Robert Weaver, a Negro, as the man he plans to elevate to Cabinet rank if the post is created.

The immediate wailing and lamentation of the deeply stung rural Republicans and small-town Southern Democrats forecast the defeat (for the time being, at least) of the proposal, which came last month. But the reaction at the Capitol also showed that the President had struck an exposed nerve. The rural legislators know they are in decline; their long and illicitly held power is slipping away to the nation's urban centers. They saw the President's move as a push down the slope.

Sen. A. Willis Robertson (D., Va.) offered some insight into this fear when, in a recent Senate speech, he denounced the plan as creating the impression that there are differences between rural and city dwellers that do not, in fact, exist. Whether deliberately or inadvertently, Robertson stood the issue on its head. The differences do exist and have existed for some time. The trouble is that our apportionment system has never recognized them.

The country's major domestic political issues revolve around overcrowded and substandard dwellings and schools, inadequate mass transportation, medical care and other welfare matters, and civil rights. These are primarily urban problems with little interest for the rural dweller or his spokesman in Congress. Who speaks of the "youth problem" in the farm belt? Where is the rural lamentation about the need for mass-transportation facilities?

What Senator Robertson should have said is that the President's bold thrust would expose and politically exploit the difficulties that the cities are now encountering, just as rural spokesmen, for a half-century, have exploited the peculiar problems of what is now the rural one-third.

HOWEVER necessary and proper has been the exploitation of rural needs, it can be said without cynicism that it has been rewarding. Rural-dominated state legislatures have perpetuated unbalanced representation in their own favor, and by rigging Congressional redistricting have guaranteed continued dominance of Congress by rural Republicans and Southern Democrats. In some sections of the country today, the vote of a city dweller for his Congressman is worth less than one-half that of his country cousin. Studies have shown that rural-rigged state legislatures are perpetuating in office between twenty-five and thirty members of Congress who would not be there if city populations got a fair shake in Congressional redistricting.

Anything that tends to upset this advantage naturally will not endear itself to rural Congressmen, or their counterparts in the state legislatures. The Urban Affairs proposal certainly fell into this category, and President Kennedy made it the symbol of the urban revolt against rural indifference. Inevitably, and despite its initial defeat, it will become a rallying point for those who see it as a sure way to get a better break for urbanites in the national scheme of things.

When the Urban Affairs Department becomes a fact, as ultimately it will, more violent tree-shaking will be in order than the rural spokesmen bargained for. Accustomed to holding a virtual veto power over some forms of federal assistance—certainly it was rarely exercised on farm-subsidy programs!—the rural pressure groups have also encouraged state legislatures to fend off overtures from governors and urban mayors for assistance in controlling urban sprawl and its attendant evils. As a consequence, the mayors and governors went to Washington for succor—and, more often than not, got it in some form or other. This tended further to reduce the importance of state legislatures—in those cases, at least, in which venality and corruption hadn't already done the trick.

THIS IS a power fight—and the stronger side is growing stronger, if the decennial census is to be believed. Urban dwellers have something else going for them: the issue cuts across party lines. An urban Republican Congressman today has far more in common with his Democratic counterpart than with rural Republicans or Southern Democrats. Urban strength will grow rather than diminish as its population is swelled with new births and migrants from rural areas. Some hints of things to come are already available for those who want to see.

Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman has been warning farmers and their spokesmen in state and national legislatures that city-dwellers and their Congressmen are weary of being a majority relegated to second-class citizenship by pigheaded state legislatures. There is growing resentment by city Congressmen of the billions being shelled out to subsidize farmers while their own problems are largely ignored. There is a distinct chance, Freeman has warned,

---

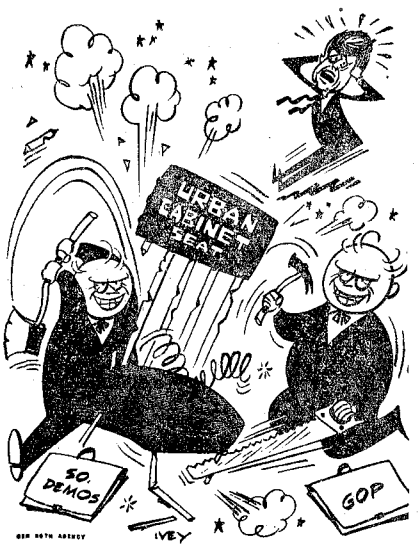
JOHN J. LINDSAY, Nieman Fellow at Harvard 1957-58, is a Washington, D.C., reporter.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the farm-subsidy programs will soon lose the support of Northern liberals unless Congressional farm spokesmen accept a *quid pro quo* arrangement to assist the major urban areas. For the past thirty years, the farm areas have got the bulk of the *quid* and the cities something less than a *quo*. Big-city support has been important in the formulation and continuation of rural-electrification programs, farm subsidies, irrigation, power and flood-control projects. There are enough big-city IOUs out on these alone to worry any rural-area spokesman in Congress if he has the imagination of a gnat.

AND this is not the only source of concern to the rural spokesmen. It is becoming clearer by the day that the Republican Party, which in the past bound together rural America and big business, cannot be depended upon to do so in the future. The two groups no longer see eye to eye on matters of national and international interest. This is apparent in the fight now developing over President Kennedy's move for wide tariff-cutting powers, a request flowing inevitably from the twin economic pincers of the emerging European Common Market and the Communist bloc. Spokesmen for rural America oppose the President on this one, but they are getting scant support from powerful business, financial and industrial interests, who tend to support the President's broad objectives.

A failure of Congress to produce a reasonable tariff program could well cause some serious second thoughts on the part of some industrial leaders as to the wisdom of continuing to support Congressmen whose votes are inimical to industry. For there is rapidly arising, in our society, a type of business leader who is not only intelligent and well informed, but also possesses an insight into the needs of the total community. Today the business and industrial leader knows the reason—and can see the profit—in planning by his own industry, and by government, for the contingencies of tomorrow. This includes "social planning" — anathema to the rural brethren, whose lives are uncomplicated affairs in which everything appears in blacks and whites, and every problem contains its own solution: wait and it will pass.



Ivey: S. F. Examiner

As Eric Sevareid observed recently, "To continue to think of social planning as 'un-American' per se, is to be blind to the nature of America." The modern industrialist is not totally blind to the nature of America, and the continued alliance between this group and the rural spokesmen makes about as much sense as buying a new Cadillac to be drawn by a horse. The alliance is now largely without motive and needs but a strong jolt to come unstuck.

THESE are the forces of attrition at work on the archaic structure of political apportionment. But there is another force in existence that is capable of bringing the whole structure down swiftly: the United States Supreme Court.

At first blush, this would seem a faint hope in view of the Court's historic reluctance to enter the "political thicket" of state and Congressional apportionment. But the Court has a peculiar history on this issue, and it is not unusual that the minority opinion of yesterday becomes the majority opinion of today.

The last time the Court took on the problem was in *Colegrove v. Green* in 1946. In that case Colegrove, a voter in Illinois, joined with others in protesting the state's archaic apportionment law—passed in 1901—which produced one Congressional District with a population of 914,053, and another inhabited by only 112,116. Since voters in each district could elect only one member of Congress, it was obvious that the votes of those in the larger district were much less effective than similar votes in the smaller. *Colegrove et al.* unsuccessfully petitioned the Illinois bench to restrain the state primary certifying board from conducting an election under the 1901 law. But the state legislature refused to reapportion, and the state courts held themselves aloof from interference.

WHEN THE Supreme Court ruled against Colegrove, Mr. Justice Frankfurter, writing for three of the four-Justice majority, said the case could not be adjudicated by means of mere "verbal fencing." The Constitution, wrote Frankfurter, gave to the states the right to select the "times, places and manner of holding elections for . . . Representatives . . ." subject to Congressional corrective action. If Congress failed in the Illinois case to exercise its prerogatives, "the remedy ultimately lies with the people." The courts, wrote Frankfurter, were excluded by the "clear intention" of the Constitution from interfering. For the courts to sustain the action, he wrote, would cut deeply into the prerogatives of Congress. "Courts ought not to enter this political thicket," he added. Then, resorting to the "verbal fencing" he had earlier cautioned against, he concluded that "The remedy for unfairness in districting is to secure state legislatures that will apportion properly, or to invoke the ample power of Congress."

He might have similarly concluded that to quell the ocean tides, it is only necessary to control the activities of the moon. The over-representation of rural interests in Congress is the creation of the state legislatures, whose own over-representation of rural interests is at the heart of the problem.

All that is necessary to obtain justice in apportionment, Frankfurter seemed to be saying, is for many state legislators to vote themselves out of office. As Anthony Lewis, Supreme Court reporter for *The New York Times,* observed in the *Harvard Law Review* four years ago,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"That is too much to ask of most politicians." The real alternatives, Lewis continued, "would seem to be intervention by the federal courts or continued inaction." The decision in *Colegrove* seemed to guarantee "continued inaction"—but not quite.

The minority view, as expressed by Mr. Justice Black, with Mr. Justice Murphy and Mr. Justice Douglas concurring, found it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the dilution of Colegrove's vote by rigged apportionment—or no apportionment—denied the petitioners equal protection of the law. Wrote Black: "No one would deny that the equal protection clause would . . . prohibit a law that would expressly give certain citizens a half-vote and others a full vote." In Colegrove's case, the archaic Illinois law reduced the effectiveness of the plaintiff's vote to one-ninth that of a citizen in the smaller district.

Today, the issue, in slightly modified form, is again before the Court, in a case involving, by coincidence, another 1901 apportionment — this time in Tennessee.

In 1959, a group of Tennessee city dwellers filed suit in the federal district court in Nashville, charging that the state legislature had violated the state constitution by failing to allocate seats of state senators and representatives every ten years (or sooner, if population changes dictated). Because no allocation had been ordered since 1901, they charged, about one-third of the state's population could, in 1959, elect roughly two-thirds of the members of both branches of the legislature. This debasement of voting rights violated the due process and equal protection rights of the Fourteenth Amendment, they asserted.

A three-judge federal panel sympathized with the plaintiffs, even agreeing that the legislature had clearly violated the state constitution. But they also agreed the issue could not be resolved by the courts. Now pending before the Supreme Court, this case offers the best prospect so far of a judicial breakthrough on rural dominance of legislative government in the nation. There are several reasons for this.

In the first place, the Court, long after the *Colegrove* decision, invaded the "political thicket" to some extent in *Gomillion v. Lightfoot*. This case involved a crude gerrymander that shut about 400 Negro voters out of the city of Tuskegee, Alabama, while keeping all of the city's white voters in. The court held that if the obvious purpose was to deny Negroes their voting rights in the city—which it was—the action was in conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment.

Significantly, Justice Frankfurter wrote the opinion in this case, although he saw one essential difference between it and *Colegrove* — a difference that the Tennessee voters believe is applicable to their apportionment problem. Frankfurter said that Colegrove had complained of the dilution of his vote stemming from legislative *inaction*. In the Tuskegee case, however, it was an "affirmative legislative *action*" [italics added] that deprived petitioners of their votes. In *Colegrove*, said Frankfurter, the State of Illinois had acted—or refrained from acting—within its domain and was shielded from judicial review; in the Tuskegee case, Alabama had used its power affirmatively to abridge a right protected by the federal government.

The petitioners in the Tennessee case now assert that Tennessee, by attempting to hold an election on the discriminatory apportionment of 1901, clearly was engaging in a state action to deprive city voters of their full voting rights. The Justice Department, as friend of the court, agreed.

Of the majority in the *Colegrove* case, only Frankfurter remains on the bench. Black and Douglas, leading dissenters in *Colegrove*, wield potent influence in the Court today. Any decision—short of outright rejection of jurisdiction—in the Tennessee case, seems destined to become the key for solving the apportionment problem once and for all. While it is recognized that at most the courts can succeed in knocking down what the states have erected, legal history clearly shows that in most cases that is enough. Such is the authority of the Supreme Court that sometimes mere threat of action by it has produced startling changes in the actions and attitudes of states. It could happen here, and if it does a new day will dawn for the politically underprivileged city dweller.

The Network Bluff . . *by James Lawrence Fly*

IN RECENT HEARINGS, the Federal Communications Commission has been looking into the question of whether broadcasting networks, as well as individual stations, should be subject to federal license. The network witnesses, in arguing against the proposed change, have contributed more to public confusion than to public enlightenment. Perhaps they intended it that way. In any case, the hearings have revealed the failure of the country's leading broadcasters to face up to the great public responsibility they were fortunate enough to inherit.

Two basic, and related, aspects of the networks' position are deserving of special attention: their refusal to recognize FCC jurisdiction in reviewing network program performance; and their cynical attitude toward the public responsibility the broadcaster has sought and accepted under law.

The Legal Furore. Some network leaders and their propagandists have set up a verbal barrage about the "freedom" of the air—i.e., anyone has the right to use the air, just as

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY was chairman of the FCC in the years 1939-44, and served in other important federal posts during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administrations.

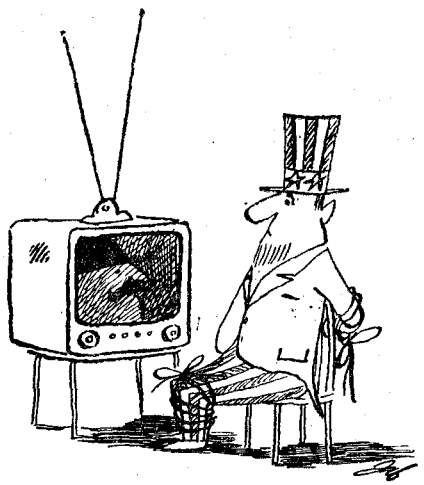
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

anyone has the right to establish a newspaper, and neither the public nor the FCC can abridge that right. The argument is both fallacious and a grave public disservice. In most countries, broadcasting is a government function. Here, private industry is endowed with this undertaking. But the air space is owned by the public, and the average citizen is not "free" to establish a business in it. Many apply, and only the chosen few can be licensed. Thus, it is with poor grace and shoddy logic that the chosen few now argue that they have no responsibility, because the air is "free." One applicant for a TV license had the temerity to make this contention, refusing to present program proposals with his application. The Court of Appeals settled the question to his dissatisfaction.

AS FOR the issue of the FCC's jurisdictional duty to review program structure, this was settled by the *Henderson* and *Brinkley* cases in the early days of broadcasting. In the latter case *(KFKB v. Federal Radio Commission, 47 F2nd 670, 1931)*, the Court of Appeals said: "The business is affected with a public interest . . . and the Commission is called upon to consider the character and quality of the service to be rendered . . . for 'By their fruits ye shall know them'" (Matt. VII, 20). A year later the Court of Appeals sustained another license cancellation for bad programing *(Trinity Methodist Church v. Federal Radio Commission, 62 F2nd 650)*. Again, in 1940, the court sustained the commission in licensing a competing applicant on the ground of a better program structure *(Johnston Broadcasting Co. v. FCC, 175 F2nd 351)*. And, in the *Sanders* case *(FCC v. Sanders, 309 U.S. 470-5)*, the United States Supreme Court said, "The policy of the Act is clear that no person is to have anything in the nature of a property right as a result . . . of a license."

With the advance of the electronic science, broadcasters have come to argue, in effect, that the FCC is only a "traffic cop" for supervising engineering problems. The networks had *this* contention knocked down by the Supreme Court *(U.S. v. NBC et al., 319 U.S. 190, 215-16)*. Here the Court said: "The Act itself establishes that the Commission's powers are not limited to the engineering and technical aspects . . . yet we are asked to regard the Commission as a kind of traffic officer. . . . But the Act . . . puts upon the Commission the burden of determining the composition of the traffic." The fact is that today the public is most vitally concerned with programing performance.

Under the pressure of debate and criticism, the FCC chairman, Newton N. Minow, has stressed the representations made to the Commission by licensees as indicative that the



FCC does have jurisdiction over programing. But while these representations are important, the question of jurisdiction does not rest upon such a slender reed. The law requires a program service in the public interest, and it is the FCC's duty to see that this responsibility is discharged. The law is the paramount factor.

As the chief originators of program service, the networks should be subject to license; meanwhile, as station owners, they can and should be called to account.

Of course, censorship is impermissible: the FCC may neither require a particular program nor the deletion of one, provided that it is legal. But it is a fallacy to assume that the public is therefore powerless to affect programing. The networks argue that the public does have "power" — the power to turn off the TV set. But to argue that the public must ultimately make the decision on whether a program is "good" or "bad" is totally irresponsible; tolerance and approval are hardly synonymous. The public is against crime. But it relies upon law-enforcement officials to effectuate public policy in this regard. In broadcasting, the FCC is the public's enforcement agency, and it has both the power and the duty to require performance in the public interest. This it does by a review of the program structure after the event.

The Network's Tawdry Performance. He who comes to a court of equity for relief must have clean hands. Do the networks, who now assert complete ownership of the air and deny the right of the public authority to bring them to account, have clean hands? Now is the time to settle the issue with finality.

Let's look at the record. We have a number of good news programs. The coverage of outstanding public events, such as our space exploits, is excellent. On occasion, there is also good music or drama. But then the rub comes—and judgment falls on the long hours of the day and night over endless weeks. Here a wealthy and indolent broadcasting-industry leadership substitutes cynicism and arrogance for program quality.

TWENTY YEARS ago, this writer voiced criticism of the soap operas. This cheap, psychotic drooling still preys upon the public mentality. Chairman Minow has expressed concern as to the harmful effects of violence in children's programs. The "alert" industry leadership has alleviated this problem by substituting sex for guns. Fresh in our memory is the give-away program fad; many people in the networks, and on Madison Avenue, knew these programs were fraudulent. The prosecuting authorities stepped in. Some of the industry leaders swore they knew nothing of what was going on. Whether they testified truly or falsely is of no great concern; what is of great public concern is the bankruptcy of their leadership.

One of the great networks hired a choral group at established, standard rates—and then the group gave back, under the table, a portion of the rate. Meanwhile, a raft of disk jockeys took an extensive line of bribes to promote the popularity of specific songs, without regard to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

merit. And the industry leadership continued to slumber. Also, meanwhile, our celluloid detectives and gunmen never miss their target. The early West is now a depopulated wasteland, saved only by the ability of Madison Avenue to reactivate the dead villains in order that they may die again and yet again.

Let's face it. The broadcasting industry leaders have great political power through their control of network time and, indirectly, of time along the whole range of affiliated stations. Political figures depend upon this time. The very fact that the leaders wield this great power makes it doubly important that they be called to account. Once they can cow the government, the public is damned. They cry "liberty"; but, as Thornton Wilder's Julius Caesar has said, "There is no liberty save in responsibility." The network leadership takes millions from the public air space. This is only an added reason why any indolence and arrogance on their part toward the public's vital interest are not to be tolerated. Liberty and responsibility are essential counterparts.

With the irresponsibility displayed by the industry's leaders in the last two years, their plea of "freedom" comes only as an echo in a vast cavern. When, in mature fashion, the public's rightful interest in the air is recognized and served, liberty will again become a meaningful word. Broadcasting is the public's business, and not a sinecure of private luxury.

THE PRECOCIOUS TED KENNEDY . . *by Joseph A. Page*

Boston

ONE TUESDAY evening last fall, at a fashionable hotel here, a society of Italian-American attorneys held its annual banquet. The featured speaker was twenty-nine-year-old Edward M. (Ted) Kennedy, youngest brother of the President and an Assistant District Attorney for Suffolk County, Massachusetts. As handsome as advertised, flashing the famous smile, he was conspicuous at a head table composed mainly of venerable Massachusetts judges of Italian extraction.

Mr. Kennedy's address began with a glowing tribute to Italy and the Italian people and to their great contributions to American life. Then came the main portion of the speech, delivered with something less than fluency. Last May, Ted and his pretty wife, Joan, had made a private "good-will mission" to Italy (presumably not in furtherance of his duties as assistant Distict Attorney) to observe the centennial of Italian unification. The audience now heard all about the trip, including some homey tidbits about the visit with Pope John (Ted had received his First Communion at the Vatican while on a trip with his then-Ambassador father) and even an artistic sidelight or two. No one seemed to mind when the speaker referred to the magnificent Gothic cathedral of Milan as Byzantine.

After the speech a film of the "good-will mission" was shown — a slick, professional job entitled "Ted Kennedy in Italy," complete with background music and commentary by a vaguely Italian-accented voice. It showed Ted and Joan deplaning, meeting the press, shaking hands, visiting some notable personages (the Pope, President Gronchi, etc.), stopping off at an orphanage and boarding another plane. At one point, Ted found time to say a quick *buon giorno* to a group of Sicilian fishermen (the commentator here noted that many Massachusetts citizens make their living from the sea). Occasionally, the camera lens strayed to catch brief glimpses of a monument or two, but mostly it stayed with Ted and Joan. When the lights came back on, the Assistant D.A. had vanished — to keep up with a busy schedule, the toastmaster explained.

Ted's schedule has been full ever since he established residence in the Bay State early last year.

In the wonderful world of Massachusetts politics, all eyes are focused on the impending battle for the Senate seat vacated by the President. Benjamin A. Smith 2d, an obscure mayor of Gloucester with the important qualification of having served as the President's roommate at Harvard, was appointed to the Senate until this year, when an election will fill the seat for the last two years of the term. Apparently, Smith was picked with the understanding that he would step aside at the end of two years so that Ted, if he so desired, could run for the seat. The day following Ted's thirtieth birthday, Senator Smith officially announced he would not seek re-election. But complications have arisen in the form of the expected candidacy of Democratic Attorney General Edward J. McCormack, young and politically astute nephew of Congressman John McCormack. (He is to announce his plans formally three days after this issue goes to press.)

Massachusetts Democrats are hung on the horns of a frightful dilemma: a Kennedy-McCormack struggle in the primary would raise havoc in a party noted for frequent fratricidal convulsions, and would cast an almost bizarre shadow on the relationship between the President and the Speaker of the House.

The story is told that the Kennedys regard one of the U.S. Senate posts from Massachusetts as their family seat. With Robert effectively occupied as Attorney General and all the grandchildren too young, it would seem incumbent upon Ted to face up to his familial responsibility. If he wins at the convention, his opponent may be George Cabot Lodge, thirty-four-year-old son of Henry Cabot Lodge, who has formally declared himself a candidate for the Republican Senatorial nomination.

JOSEPH A. PAGE, young Massachusetts attorney, is a close observer of politics as practiced in his home state.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lodge's qualifications include his name, a handsome face and a tour as Assistant Secretary of Labor under the Eisenhower and Kennedy administrations. The glamour of such a battle has already captivated the press throughout the state.

A GRADUATE of Milton Academy and Harvard College '56, where he climaxed an uneventful football season as first-string end by catching a touchdown pass in the Yale Bowl, Ted Kennedy received his LL.B. from the University of Virginia Law School in 1959. While still in law school, he found time to act as manager for his brother's 1958 Senatorial campaign, during which he savored his first real taste of politics. Although the outcome was a foregone conclusion, the Kennedy brothers pulled out all the stops, and their winning plurality was overwhelming. Ted displayed a real flair for vote-getting, earning the sobriquet of "best politician in the family." As one observer noted, he has the "affability of an Irish cop" — no handicap in Boston.

Subsequently, Ted played a key role in his brother's drive for the White House. Assigned to the Western part of the country, he catapulted into national prominence by successfully going over a ski-jump as part of his political effort in Wisconsin. His mother remarked: "Teddy can't wait for this campaign to end so he can announce his entrance into politics."

With the White House campaign concluded, Ted embarked on a course patently designed to carry him to Capitol Hill. J.F.K. was helpful, sending him on a "fact-finding" mission to Africa in December of 1960; accompanied by three Senators, Ted found the Africans eager to meet the brother of the new American President, and he also found an abundance of material for subsequent speeches.

The next step was to return to Boston: in order to become an elected official of a state, one must live there. His return set off a flurry of rumors; he had already indicated, on his application for admission to the Massachusetts Bar, that his "ambitions lie in the public service of this state." When asked about his political aspirations, he gave reporters this ingenuous formula: ". . . There is a great deal of luck involved in politics, in being at the right place at the right time. You can't make your breaks. You must let things develop."

Things soon began to develop. He took the job of Assistant District Attorney for Suffolk County in February of 1961, and promptly made headlines by refusing the $5,000-a-year salary the job carried, accepting $1 instead. Besides being a magnanimous gesture, this enabled him to take on a staggering speaking schedule and dash off on international trips without fear of public criticism. In addition to the Italian junket, Ted made a visit to South America last summer, accompanied by Professor John Nathan Plank, Harvard specialist on Latin American affairs. Though this was billed as a "private, fact-finding tour," Ted managed to visit with a number of important Latin American statesmen. On his return, he wrote a series of articles on Latin America for a local newspaper.

Africa and Latin America became the favorite topics of Ted's talks. Inviting him to speak has become quite fashionable in Massachusetts these days. He has addressed an awesome number of women's clubs, chambers of commerce, synagogue groups, communion breakfasts, etc. His presence usually draws large crowds, often preponderantly female. His audiences are obviously attracted by the Kennedy mystique, and Ted does nothing to disappoint them. At a university alumni gathering not long ago, the introductory comments to his talk and to the subsequent question period were entirely devoted to family tales. ". . . So Big Bobby said to Little Bobby . . . and Ethel said . . . this reminds me of something that happened to the President," etc., etc.

Berger

Edward Kennedy

WITH experience, Ted's ability to communicate with live audiences has improved considerably. Early this year, he gave a series of talks at local schools. Typical of these appearances was an address before a technical institute in Boston. A special morning assembly was scheduled, and a capacity crowd was on hand to hear about Africa and Latin America. Speaking smoothly from scanty notes, the Assistant D.A. not only revealed in general terms that there is political and social unrest in the emerging African nations and Latin America, but threw in a pitch for physical fitness and the Peace Corps as well. He concluded with an earnest plea for greater public participation in local civic affairs. In a question-and-answer period that followed, occasional flashes of uneasiness revealed that the speaker needed to polish his ad-lib agility.

These talks helped project an image of nonpartisanship, and also served as a warm-up for Ted's latest "private, unofficial" trip, in the course of which he has spoken to a number of student groups. The purpose of this Odyssey to Belgium, Israel, Greece, Austria, Poland, France, Germany and Ireland was stated to be an examination of the potential effects of the Common Market upon the Massachusetts economy. From the length of his stay in Brussels (thirty-six hours), and the inclusion in his itinerary of four countries (Israel, Greece, Poland and Ireland) which do not belong to the Common Market but are of some concern to strong minority groups at home, one may suspect that the European Economic Community might not have been the prime motivating factor of the trip, which has con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stantly made headlines in the Boston newspapers.

Although he has studiously avoided any open connection with local political groups, such as the Young Democrats, the Assistant D.A. has shown no reluctance to meet with legislators and local politicians who will be delegates to the state preprimary Democratic convention. He has also reactivated the network of town secretaries set up by his brother for the 1952 and 1958 Senatorial campaigns.

The President's legal voting residence on Bowdoin Street, in Boston, has long served as Ted's campaign headquarters, where five full-time secretaries and the familiar academic brain trust have been busily functioning. Top cohorts thus far are John Culver, third-year law student at Harvard and former college football star, and Professor Plank, the Latin American expert. Number-one local political adviser is the longtime family friend (and part-time rumored appointee to the Federal District Court), Francis X. Morrissey, judge of the Boston Municipal Court. Harold Clancy, former managing editor of a Boston newspaper, serves in a speech-writing and public-relations capacity.

IN A state where just plain folk fortunate enough to have the name Kennedy make a habit of running for office, and a gentle, unassuming fellow with the name John F. Kennedy was thrice elected Treasurer (and made a strong but unsuccessful run for the governorship), there is no end to what a "genuine" Kennedy may accomplish politically. Of course, the prospect has already raised the cry in some quarters that a political "dynasty" is in the making. But the demand for first-rate public officials today is such that most thoughtful observers agree that it would be illogical and unjust to bar a person from public service merely because he happens to be related to the President.

On the other hand, it is legitimate to inquire to what extent a candidate stands upon his own qualifications, and to what extent he relies upon fraternal connections. Ted has made every effort to augment his naturally attractive public image by continual family references. His so-called "private" trips abroad are filled with meetings with important political figures, who would presumably be unavailable to the average Assistant D.A. He showed little hesitation in joining his brother, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, during the latter's recent visit to West Berlin. In addition, Massachusetts has been racked by a series of scandals involving bookies, land appraisals and Bernard Goldfine. To a considerable extent, control over the timing and extent of exposure of a number of these scandals, which are said to affect certain local politicians, rests in Washington. While to date there has been no evidence of any coordination between the investigation of corruption in Massachusetts and the political aspirations of the President's youngest brother, the mere existence of such a possibility is disquieting. Another factor which cannot be discarded is the probability of national political repercussions in the unlikely event that Ted loses the election.

Finally, a seat in the Senate, the most powerful legislative body in the world, was kept warm for two years until Ted came of age.

THE QUESTION then arises as to the positive value of Ted's year in office as Assistant D.A. Without doubt, it has been helpful in some respects, but even the hagiography which constantly appears in the local press leaves one with the impression that, like any young man fresh out of law school, Ted still has much to learn. The whirlwind nature of his foreign excursions, to borrow from James Reston's description, suggests that he was letting "the voters see him yonder, brooding . . . on the larger fate of mankind," rather than acquiring a genuine expertise in the art of statesmanship. His political skills are keenly developed, but at least one manifestation of them is disturbing.

It is difficult for an onlooker to avoid the conclusion that his carefully planned travels reflect a concentration upon ethnic groups—a technique that responsible political observers had hoped was on the wane in Massachusetts. Thus, he trudges through a snow storm to visit Poland's great shrine to the Virgin Mary; at Hebrew University, in Jerusalem, he delivers to students a speech on the struggles and sacrifices of Israel; his address before the American Committee on Italian Migration in New York drips with praise for the "material and spiritual benefits" conferred upon the United States by the "businessmen, craftsmen, and just plain, good, hardworking people who have come from Italy." Though no one can find fault with these sentiments, their use in a political campaign must be viewed with some skepticism.

In maintaining a pose of lofty disengagement from partisanship, he has zealously avoided any statements which might be deemed controversial. References to corruption in public office have crept into recent speeches, but have been subordinated to general pleas for good government. In reply to a question on the Blue Laws, he confidently asserted that they posed a "difficult problem." It will be fascinating to observe if—and how—he comes out on the question of federal aid to parochial schools.

IN A FAMILY in which intramural competition has become a national legend, it is natural for Ted to desire to outdo his brother, who was elected to the Congress at the age of twenty-nine, and to the Senate six years later. But it must be admitted that the President's pre-political credentials were far more impressive. Perhaps Ted Kennedy might develop into an outstanding candidate for Senator after a few terms in Congress. But as the polls indicate that he can win the Senate seat, the pressure on him to seek it has been overwhelming.

President Kennedy wrote in *Profiles in Courage*: "Our political life is becoming so expensive, so mechanized and so dominated by professional politicians and public relations men that the idealist who dreams of independent statesmanship is rudely awakened by the necessities of election and accomplishment." Some people in Massachusetts may feel that Ted Kennedy's candidacy for the United States Senate carries this acute observation to an unwarranted extreme.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ANTI-COMMUNISM IN THE CLASSROOM

EDUCATION OR PROPAGANDA? . . .

Lawrence E. Metcalf

FOR YEARS high school teachers have not been permitted to teach an understanding of communism. Powerful interest groups have opposed any treatment of the subject that might fail to convey an appreciation for right-wing interpretations of free enterprise. The dominant view of these groups has been that "It is all right for young people to think about communism only as long as they reach the right conclusions." In this kind of atmosphere, most teachers have chosen to ignore communism rather than risk having their students draw the "wrong" conclusions.

A recent *New York Times* survey suggests that a growing number of communities are insisting that public high schools reverse this long-standing hands-off policy. Unfortunately, it is an insistence that the schools engage vigorously in right-wing indoctrination, clearly labeling liberals, the welfare state, the U.N., NATO, foreign aid and the income tax as evidences of creeping communism. The shift from neglect to indoctrination is suggested by the new stance of the American Legion. Once opposed to any treatment of communism in the public schools, the organization is reported to be cooperating with the National Education Association in the design of a "model" course. Reports indicate that rightist groups all over the nation have shifted their position similarly. The result is already apparent: the offering of courses which amount to outright anti-Communist indoctrination, with the facts often sacrificed on the altar of "patriotism."

Typical developments may be found in the South, the Midwest and in certain parts of California. Louisiana, for more than a year, has been requiring students in American history to spend thirty hours on the study of communism. The general drift of the course is right-wing, with an emphasis on such ideas as "There can be no compromise with international communism, no co-existence," and "Socialism and the welfare state are way stations on the road to communism." The guide for the course recommends forcefully that teachers use the film, *Communism on the Map*, which implies that Spain, Switzerland and the United States are the only non-Communist countries in the Western world (not even Portugal qualifies for membership).

The Florida legislature has just passed a bill requiring all high school seniors, beginning this fall, to take a similar course. In Houston, Texas, plans for injecting a "disguised" course on communism have aroused considerable controversy. A curriculum bulletin, prepared by the supervisor of world history and economics, has been circulated among the teachers as a recommended syllabus. Known as Curriculum Bulletin No. 59CBM9, it purports to outline a high school course in economics. Its stated purpose is to teach students to appreciate "the good things in the American economic system." But the projected course would seem to violate one of the good things in the American public-school system: the freedom of students to learn the truth about contemporary society and its problems. The list of recommended collateral reading, for example, includes only a few items about economics written by economists, even though the public commonly believes that a major difference at issue in the cold war is over economic systems. Most items are pamphleteering in tone, obviously intended for use in indoctrination programs. A characteristic note is struck in the bulletin's introduction, which exhorts the reader to believe that "the great mansion and small cottage differ only in size rather than basic quality."

A group known as the Houston Association for Better Schools, after a careful reading of the bulletin and its bibliography, doubted its educational value, and asked economists at nine major universities to comment upon it. The economists were specifically asked whether they thought that an economics course based on this guide would contribute to good college preparation. Typical responses:

> I consider it an unsatisfactory syllabus because it is designed to present a certain point of view toward economic policy rather than an understanding of the economy.
>
> As a matter of fact, a student would probably be better off not to have had this course.
>
> A large percentage of the material is predominantly propaganda rather than objective analysis of our economic system. This is definitely a slanted list of references and, employed as suggested in the course outline, will lead to serious misconceptions regarding the structure and operation of our economy.
>
> No labor materials are included among the pamphlets. Ultraconservative views by non-economists are well represented but no ultraliberal views. I would favor omitting all interest group items and teach economic principles, not views.

Many will dismiss the Houston bulletin as another example of extremism made in Texas by Texans. But it is common knowledge that many teachers and administrators all over the country see nothing wrong with indoctrination; for them, the choice is merely between anti-Communist and pro-Communist indoctrination. Given such a choice, what American would be anything but anti? As long as educators regard suppression of knowledge as a normal function of the American high school, they will be unable to make much sense of the issues raised by the economists who criticized the Houston bulletin.

EVENTS in Los Angeles, Berkeley and other parts of California further suggest the educational philosophy of anti-Communist propagandists. In Los Angeles, the division of instructional services issued a twenty-five-page bulletin about the teach-

---

LAWRENCE E. METCALF, Professor of Education at the University of Illinois, is the co-author of a textbook, Teaching High School Social Studies (*Harper*).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing of communism which was severely criticized because it recommended the viewing of the McGraw-Hill award-winning film, *Face of Red China*. The film shows school children in Red China smiling; was this not making life under communism appear to be attractive? During a three-day period, the Director of Audio-Visual Programs, who had been instrumental in drawing up the list of recommended films, received anonymous telephone calls at almost ten-minute intervals, and was finally forced to submit the bulletin to review by a special committee.

If indoctrination of the young is to succeed, their teachers must be properly prepared. In Berkeley, a lecture series on "Facts on Communism" provided a forum for professional anti-Communists. Scholars at the University of California were not invited to participate, but public school teachers who attended were given credit toward pay increases by the Berkeley Board of Education.

THE idea for the lectures originated with two members of the local Rotary Club who had been stirred to action by a U.S. Navy officer whom they had heard speak at a luncheon. The two men convinced the school board to offer the lecture series under the auspices of the Berkeley Evening School, an adjunct of the public schools. One of the men pointed out that the lectures would help to correct the "pinko" reputation Berkeley had in the outside world; the other summed up his argument with a question: "How can we expect people to vote against the welfare state if they don't understand communism?"

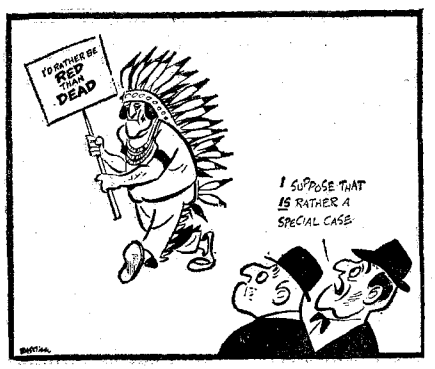
Dr. Ephraim Kahn, president of the Emerson School Parent-Teachers Association, protested the motives of the sponsors, and the lack of educational qualifications of two of the six scheduled lecturers who, he said, were professionals who made a living attacking communism from lecture platforms.

Elaborate plans for kicking off the lecture series with bands, invocations, and color guards included invitations to the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, and children and nuns from two Catholic schools, whose presence was intended to lend a proper patriotic and religious air to the opening ceremonies. Although the PTA could not bring about a change in the panel of speakers, its protests moderated the circus atmosphere that had been planned, and the presence of an American Legion color guard at the first lecture was not repeated at subsequent meetings. The presence of 600 observers from the PTA, and a third of the Berkeley police force, constituted another restraint.

Five of the six speakers on the Berkeley program also appeared on a similar program at West Contra Costa Junior College. On this occasion, Drummond J. McCunn, Superintendent of the Contra Costa Junior College District, commended the John Birch Society for its exposure of communism. Scheduled to speak to the California Association of School Superintendents on the subject of teaching about communism, Mr. McCunn told a press conference that many textbooks were "slanted" toward socialism, and that others washed out our history by failing to mention the utterances of John Paul Jones and Nathan Hale. Asked to name "slanted" textbooks, he reportedly declined by saying, "I have no documentation before me." Asked to give one instance of Communist influence on textbooks or schools, he answered, according to press reports: "I don't have it at my finger tips today." He then went on to say that music was a particularly dangerous area in school curricula, and when a reporter from Los Angeles asked for his opinion of the song, *Swing the Shining Sickle*, he drew a connection between the words of the song and the Communist flag. Informed that the song had been written in 1897 to celebrate the American harvest at Thanksgiving, he is said to have laughed off the observation by commenting, "You've tripped me up. Maybe I've been brainwashed against the song."

THE MOVEMENTS in California and the South are matched in vigor and flavor by Survival Over Communism, an Indiana organization devoted to promotion of youth clubs and study groups. A published manual on how to organize an SOC club includes a sample constitution, sample letters to Congressmen and courses of study of varying length. A full list of instructional materials available for purchase includes tape-recorded lectures as well as films, pamphlets and books.

Much of the listed material can be purchased only from the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, an organization that helped to found SOC [see "The Cold War Sells Razors," by Phil Kerby, *The Nation*, November 4, 1961]. A textbook for high school students, *You Can Trust the Communists*, by Fred Schwarz, head of the Christian Anti-Communist Crusade, is SOC's recommended



Bastion: S. F. Chronicle

bible. SOC claims that a copy of this book is being sent to every high school in the nation. Glenn Martin, chairman of the Social Studies Department of Jackson Central High School, Arcadia, Indiana, has been praised by SOC for his course on communism in which the Schwarz book is used as a text.

Schwarz has been described by Tristram Coffin as an Australian physician, neither American nor economist nor theologian, who uses a quasi-religious, evangelical approach to teaching Americanism in his seminars on communism. According to an observer from *The Christian Science Monitor*, Schwarz attacked in a single seminar, "liberals, modernists, John Dewey, Kirtley Mather, Harvard students, high school students, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, textbooks, the American Friends Service Committee, pacifists, the book sections of *The New York Times* and *Herald Tribune*, public libraries, beatniks, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, and naive ministers."

(Continued on page 224)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Persistence of the Executioner

Hugo Adam Bedau

THE YEAR 1961 was a hard one for the opponents of the death penalty in this country. On March 30, the Vermont lower house voted 155 to 62 to keep the death penalty for murder, though there has not been an execution in the state since 1954. Four days later, the Massachusetts Senate rejected, 22 to 14, a bill to punish first-degree murder by life imprisonment unless the jury recommended death (a reversal of the present law), though no one has been electrocuted in Massachusetts since 1947. Three weeks later, with the fate of a record three dozen men facing the gas chamber in the balance, the California Assembly voted 54 to 24 against abolition and rejected a moratorium bill on a tie vote. These three defeats were typical. Of the twenty-three abolition bills filed in as many legislatures last year, not one has become law.

To make matters worse, J. Edgar Hoover, in a nation-wide press release on June 1, lashed out against "the maudlin viewers of the death penalty," "the misguided do-gooders," who favor abolition. He recommended that we take our cue from the "hardened, veteran" police officers who know that their safety and ours lies in the threat of capital punishment. Two months later, in a frenzy of haste, Congress passed a bill to make "hijacking" an airplane punishable by death if the jury so recommends. The measure passed in the House 373 to 5, and on a voice vote in the Senate. President Kennedy promptly signed it and there was not even a murmur of public protest.

In September, the case of Preston "Dude" Cobb, Jr., a 15-year-old Negro boy scheduled for electrocution in Georgia, came to national attention. Cobb's age, race and the question of his guilt illustrated, if further illustration were necessary, the pathos of the cases where the death penalty threatens to claim a victim. The case also exposed what *The New York Times* called "the hodgepodge of legal possibilities" which allows juveniles to be tried on felony charges and made subject to capital punishment throughout the land.

LESLIE HALE. Hanged in Error. Penguin. 160 pp. 85c.
JAMES AVERY JOYCE. Capital Punishment: A World View. Thomas Nelson. 288 pp. $5.
LUDOVIC KENNEDY. Ten Rillington Place. Simon & Schuster. 288 pp. $4.95.
ARTHUR KOESTLER & C. H. ROLPH. Hanged by the Neck. Penguin. 143 pp. 85c.
BARRETT PRETTYMAN, Jr. Death and the Supreme Court. Harcourt Brace & World. 311 pp. $4.95.
C. H. ROLPH. Common Sense about Crime and Punishment. Macmillan. 175 pp. $2.95.
ELIZABETH TUTTLE. The Crusade Against Capital Punishment in Great Britain. Quadrangle Books. 177 pp. $5.75.

But by far the worst news came just before Christmas and from a direction least expected. In April, 1958, Delaware had abolished the death penalty for all crimes, an event celebrated far and wide in penological and correctional circles. Last December 18, the state legislature, by one vote, overrode Governor Carvel's veto of a bill to reintroduce the gallows for murder, rape, kidnaping and treason. That one vote wiped out the most encouraging prospect abolitionists in this country have had in nearly half a century (since Missouri abolished the death penalty in 1917, only to reinstate it two years later). At the present time, capital punishment for murder prevails in all but eight of the fifty states.

There are several features about the stunning reversal in Delaware that deserve general notice. As Governor Carvel said in his veto message of December 14, it was a matter of public record (if not of public knowledge) that the homicide rate in Delaware in the three and one-half years after abolition had gone *down*, not up, and by nearly 20 per cent. This fact was easily drowned by the passions aroused when two white women in southern Delaware were brutally murdered by young Negroes on parole. It hardly helped matters that these two crimes coincided with the pressure in northern Delaware to end segregation along Route 40. [See "Life Begins on Route 40" by Leo Hamalian; *The Nation,* January 27.]

Even so, the *Wilmington Morning News* pointed out, had it not been for the misapportionment of the state legislature, whereby the thinly populated rural areas have a preponderance of voting strength, the bill to reinstate the death penalty would never have carried. What happened in Delaware—the combination of a couple of isolated brutal murders and a system of rotten boroughs—is pretty much the story behind the reintroduction of the death penalty in the nine other states which at one time or another had abolished it.

The epilogue in Delaware, which cannot reassure those who hoped to control crime by restoring the executioner, is nicely told in this story, paraphrased from a letter to me written by a Delaware resident: A few days before the new bill was passed, Detective Sergeant William J. Mulrine, III, aged 49 and with twenty years of service on the Wilmington police force, explained in a discussion with a prominent minister why he favored the death penalty. It was, he said, a real deterrent and murderers ought to be so punished; many members of the police force agreed with him. On December 28, Sergeant Mulrine killed his wife with a single revolver bullet, and became the first candidate for the reinstated hangman's noose.

THESE legislative defeats across the nation, coming as they do after several years of similar defeats, may make it look as though there is no likelihood of abolishing the death penalty in this country for many years to come. But two other facts shed a rather different light on the question.

For one thing, executions now occur at the rate of about one per week for the nation as a whole. When one realizes that more than thirty different crimes are punishable by death and that more than forty different jurisdictions have at least one capital law, the present execution rate is remarkably low. It is a significant drop from three or four decades ago when the rate was nearly threefold higher. The explanation for

HUGO ADAM BEDAU is a Carnegie Fellow in Law and Philosophy at Harvard Law School. He is editing a collection of essays on capital punishment in America for publication by Anchor Books later in the year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

this low execution rate involves several factors, but one of the major ones is that juries are not as eager as they once were to deliver death sentences.

Furthermore, there is a growing backlog of men under sentence of death (a year ago, there were about 200), and the time elapsed between the sentence of death and the execution is steadily lengthening. This situation is largely attributable, as a recent study by the American Bar Foundation has shown, to the willingness of federal courts to grant review of state court death sentences, even when the appeals are based on nothing better than (what one writer called) "meritless petitions." Merit aside, this increasing volume of appellate court review of death sentences shows the distaste with which the judiciary views capital punishment. (Some insights into the attitudes of the Supreme Court Justices in death penalty cases is now available in Barrett Prettyman's recent book, *Death and the Supreme Court.*)

This judicial reluctance, coupled with the actual reduction in executions, indicates that significant forces are at work in our society in the direction of abolition.

Yet the country as a whole is still relatively indifferent to the issue. The literary symptom of this attitude is that no concise and comprehensive book on the subject is currently available to the American public. Two years have passed since Curtis Bok published his *Star Wormwood* (Knopf) and it is now clear that none but the highly literate will ever discover that the book bearing this title is in fact a sophisticated blend of novel and essay assaulting "legal vengeance" and especially the death penalty. Were it not for the annual "Executions" bulletin from the Federal Bureau of Prisons and for the reports filed by several state legislatures in recent years (California, Massachusetts, Ohio, Pennsylvania, in that order, between 1957 and 1961), there would be almost no reliable current data available even to the criminologist.

Yet what is published in these reports barely scratches the surface. I would not have the faintest idea where to direct anyone who wanted to know the details on the practice of capital punishment in most states. The latest published study on the subject in New York, for instance, dates from 1890, when the electric chair was invented. Since that time, the bulk of the facts is anybody's guess.

In short, had it not been for the writings, now very much out of date, of the late Clarence Darrow and Warden Lewis E. Lawes, and for books assailing the notorious fumbling of justice in the Sacco-Vanzetti, Rosenberg-Sobell and Chessman cases, the American reading public would not have had a single popular book attacking capital punishment in this country in this century!

IN THIS respect we are obliged to envy the English. Not that they have entirely succeeded where we have failed — they, too, still have their executions. Moreover, though these have been far fewer since 1957, when the Homicide Act was passed, there has lately been some agitation for wider use of the gallows. When seventeen murders occurred during the first twenty-three days of January, 1961, conservative M.P.s demanded more hangings. Then, in May, Paliament rejected, 183 to 119, a bill to abolish the death penalty under military law for all crimes not similarly punishable under civil law. One would have thought this was a proposal innocuous enough to pass without much trouble, especially since Commons has thrice voted for abolition since 1948. Apparently not. On this issue it has been Lords, not Commons, which speaks with the people's voice. According to a recent Gallup Poll (reported in Elizabeth Tuttle's new book, *The Crusade Against Capital Punishment in Great Britain*), less than one-quarter of the English people favors complete abolition. Indeed, in this respect, the United States seems to have a slight advantage. A Gallup Poll here at the height of the Chessman controversy revealed that more than a third of the public favored abolition, while 13 per cent was undecided.

But although abolition may so far have eluded the reformers in England, it is not because their case has not been argued fully before the public. Nearly a dozen popular books advocating abolition, most of them still in print, have been published there within the past decade. And should abolition come in the next few years, it is generally agreed that much of the credit will have to go to one man and one book — to Arthur Koestler and his *Reflections on Hanging* (Macmillan). Since this book was published in 1956, tens of thousands of copies have been read and hotly discussed all over England. It is an uncommon feat for a mere book to focus a movement for social reform and by its sheer literary power to evoke not only assent but action. *Reflections on Hanging* can fairly be claimed to have done that.

IN HIS NEW BOOK on capital punishment, *Hanged by the Neck*, Mr. Koestler has cut his earlier work by nearly two-thirds and, working with Mr. C. H. Rolph of the *New Statesman*, has brought the rest up to date and added much new material, including a short "Creed for Abolitionists" at the end. This paperback book is a true tract for the times. In its brief compass, the book has no peer for style and substance.

Americans should be sure to study the new chapter on "The Police View." Here the authors discuss the research by Professor Thorsten Sellin of Pennsylvania, which shows that the assault rate on policemen in this country is slightly *higher* in death penalty states than in abolition states! Writing in the September, 1961, issue of *Federal Probation*, Professor Sellin restated this fact in reply to J. Edgar Hoover's views, cited above. Since *Federal Probation* is sponsored by the same Department of Justice which is nominally Mr. Hoover's employer, perhaps Professor Sellin's review of the facts will be taken into account in the FBI's future pronouncements on the subject.

I notice also that the authors have replied to a common complaint of retentionists, that abolitionists never think about the victim. They report what we would expect. It was not the Parliamentary retentionists but the abolitionists who tried to get a bill passed during 1958 and 1959 to make some measure of restitution by the government to the families of murder victims. One does not have to be told whose votes defeated this bill.

Among the chapters from his old book that Mr. Koestler jettisoned are those dealing with miscarriages of justice. Although it has been a perennial argument for abolition that an innocent man may be executed, defenders of the death penalty have usually replied that this is the right problem but the wrong remedy. The maladministration of criminal justice is a legitimate cause for complaint, but (they argue) the mere abstract pos-

The Boss

That old pro
sucks in sentences
swallows jokes and similes
to clench me till his thought goes off
then looking at the clock
smiles, tells me
how a good boxer
aged onto the canvas
grabs all the air
and by weaving it into his hands
can leap back
can slam the knockout blow.

Simon Perchik

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sibility of executing the innocent is an insufficient basis for abolition.

We have yet to meet this argument with sufficient force in this country, though there is no doubt that ample material lies fairly close at hand to prove the worst. Leslie Hale, a Labour M.P. and well-known liberal writer, has given the British something to ponder in this respect: his *Hanged in Error* assembles eleven case studies and welds them into a powerful companion to the Koestler-Rolph volume.

It is generally conceded that all peoples must defer to the English when it comes to producing a cunning murderer. The same now seems to be true when it comes to a massive miscarriage of justice. Nothing in the annals of crime matches the Timothy Evans-John Christie case of a few years ago, and Mr. Hale gives the details briefly and expertly. Readers who find their appetite only whetted by his summary should seek out the full study in Ludovic Kennedy's masterpiece, *Ten Rillington Place* (named after the address of the human abattoir over which Christie presided for ten years).

Some of Mr. Hale's readers will notice that seven of his eleven cases occurred a century ago, and that in only two of his four recent ones — Rowland-Ware and Evans-Christie — did unjust executions actually occur. Anyone able to sleep the better for knowing this is welcome to the comfort. I find Mr. Hale's book a convincing demonstration that "hanged in error" is not an exaggerated epithet which has outlived its validity, but is rather a true indictment of the present system. There is *no* cure for it short of abolishing the death penalty.

IT IS sometimes argued that no reasonable man dares back abolition unless he is prepared to make the necessary adjustments all along the line in grading punishments to crimes, with the plain implication that we'd better leave well enough alone. What little force there is to this view depends on the present state of public ignorance on the whole problem of crime and punishment. Mr. Rolph's new book, *Common Sense About Crime and Punishment*, is highly recommended for anyone who wants to see what this larger context looks like.

Mr. Rolph, like Koestler and Hale, is an enviable stylist and an accurate observer of our insensibilities. He chides many of us for being alert to the evils of the death penalty while remaining indifferent to the subtler but far more pervasive evils of the prison system as a whole. As he rightly complains, "Most of us do not abhor violence so long as it is slow-motion violence." Only "rapid violence" — whipping, electrocution, third degree — seems capable of shaking us into a more humane posture.

In its details, however, the book is thoroughly oriented to an English audience, and American readers should not incautiously transfer the author's data to this country. The rate of felonious crime, to cite but one example, which Mr. Rolph reports for the United Kingdom, is less by several times what it is for this country. Nevertheless, on the legal definitions of crimes and in the description of police practices and judicial procedure, there is a good deal to be learned from Mr. Rolph's survey, even if it is nowhere directly applicable to our situation.

The embarrassing (as well as the urgent) problems of our time increasingly find their way into the United Nations, partly perhaps in the hope that they will be buried there or, at worst, be solved in policies for which no one need take the blame. Since 1957,

RANDOM HOUSE BOOKS

The Nature of Communism

By ROBERT V. DANIELS. A thorough analysis of the origins, the strategies, and the objectives of the most threatening political and social movement of our time. $6.00

The Death and Life of Great American Cities

By JANE JACOBS. "Magnificent. One of the most remarkable books ever written about the city." — WILLIAM H. WHYTE. $5.95

The Children of Sanchez

By OSCAR LEWIS. "A fascinating documentary . . . a work of art . . . The story is told by the Sanchez family themselves, in the uninhibited idiom of Mexico's lower depths." — *Time Magazine*. 544 pages. $7.50

England, Half English

By COLIN MacINNES. A collection of essays by England's sharpest observer of current manners and morals. "Extraordinary range and power." — *The Spectator*. $4.00

The New World of Philosophy

By ABRAHAM KAPLAN. A piercing — and pungent — analysis of pragmatism, analytical philosophy, existentialism, Freud, communism, Buddhism, Chinese and Indian Philosophy, and Zen. $4.95

Now at your bookstore **RANDOM HOUSE**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the U.N. has engaged in intermittent and inconclusive debate on capital punishment. The latest phase of the discussion has led to the preparation of a world-wide survey of capital-punishment practices; it should be finished sometime this year. This is the "World View" to which James Avery Joyce, a frequent writer on United Nations matters, refers in the subtitle of his latest book, *Capital Punishment.*

Mr. Joyce is not a sociologist, any more than is Koestler, Rolph or Hale; but like them he is a good reporter. His emphasis is on the history and present status of the death penalty in Western Europe, Britain and the United States. It is safe to say that no other volume in print approaches his in the scope with which it treats the issue, and of all the books by English authors on capital punishment, it most deserves the attention of American readers.

Joyce's book is of special value also because he insists on pressing beyond the immediate objective—prompt abolition of capital punishment for all crimes everywhere (Joyce notices somewhat coolly that Koestler, in common with many other abolitionists, confines his argument to the punishment for ordinary crimes, and quite ignores crimes against the state: "understandably . . . with his admitted Communist upbringing") — toward the ultimate goal of a world in which the social defenses against every form of violence are tolerably humane. In his final chapter, he tries to show how the psychological forces at work to keep and extend the death penalty are identical with those which can plunge the world into nuclear war at a moment's notice.

The omnipresence of ignorance and fear and the panic they breed, in crime, penal policies, and our treatment of other nations, is a promising theme. Mr. Joyce has room only to sketch its outline. One naturally hopes that the threat of nuclear war between nations will not prove to be as enduring as the threat of the executioner has been for the private citizen.

These several books on capital punishment do not answer all the questions the intelligent reader might ask. Certainly, they go almost no distance toward providing anything new on the subject for the criminologist. But this really doesn't matter. All of the several things we might but don't know about the ways in which capital punishment affects our society cannot offset all the things we *do* know about it. Even a superficial reading of such books as Koestler's or Joyce's yields more than enough to convince anyone who is tolerably impartial. The long and the short of it is that capital punishment stands today solidly on public ignorance of the comonplaces of criminology, penology and the law. Undercut that ignorance and the practice will totter uneasily, for it is in fact supported solely by the inarticulate passions for vengeance. Death penalties should not be left standing on the supposition that they have any better foundation.

Measure of Maturity

THE JACOB'S LADDER. By Denise Levertov. New Directions. 87 pp. $1.55 paper.

Gilbert Sorrentino

DENISE LEVERTOV has always been a meticulous writer, one whose poems exhibit a great degree of care and polish. In this new volume, however, she adds to her usual excellence a measure of maturity that has not been seen before. It is a long journey from the "pre-Williams" poems, when she was still working in England —

> A painted bird or boat above the fire,
> a fire in the hearth, a candle in the dark,
> a dark excited tree, fresh from the forest,
> are all that stand between us and the wind.

— with its almost regular iambics and staid progression, the "argument" resolved with the passive "are" as verb, through

> let it scissor and bounce its denials
> on concrete slabs and black
> roadways. Flood the streets.
>
> * * *
>
> vague skies, the tedium
> up there.
>
> Under scared bucking trees
> the beach road washed out

in which the voice, the tone, the measures are all American and very heavily laced through with the Williams influence; to, finally, in this new volume:

> one knew
> that heart of fire, rose
> at the core of gold glow,
> could go down undiminished,
>
> for love and
> or if in fear knowing
> the risk, knowing
> what one is touching, one does it,
>
> each part
> of speech a spark
> awaiting redemption, each
> a virtue, a power
>
> in abeyance unless we
> give it care
> our need designs in us. Then
> all we have led away returns to us.

She has come into her own movement, the words are charged with meaning, one must read the poem carefully or the beauty escapes. There is a great tightening up of the "margins" of the poem. That is, she has almost given up the concept, so explicit in the second quote, of breaking the sequence of idea and image, and jumping from one block of words to another. It seems to me that this is all to the good, for her talents are not in that direction. She is at her best when the poem moves quietly from the first line through to the last, without the sudden breaks learned from Williams.

The book has many fine poems, and some failures, but they are never absurd failures. I disagree with the blurb-writer who lauds her sequence *During the Eichmann Trial*: here she uses her above-mentioned talents for a direct movement *through* the poem, in a narrative fashion, without imbuing the words (in the first two sections, at least) with poetic power. In other words, there is a very thin feeling here — not emo-

GILBERT SORRENTINO'S The Darkness Surrounds Us, *a volume of verse, was published last year by Jonathan Williams.*

Poetry Editor

With this issue, the poetry and poetry reviews published in *The Nation* become the responsibility of Paul Blackburn, who succeeds Denise Levertov as poetry editor, in accord with the policy of rotation set up by the magazine two years ago. The editors take this occasion to thank Miss Levertov for her contribution to the magazine: during the nine months of her supervision, the magazine's poetry received more frequent and more enthusiastic comment than at any time in recent years.

Paul Blackburn, like Miss Levertov, is a young poet of strong talent and wide reputation. His most recent volume of collected verse is *The Nets* (Trobar Books).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tionally, but poetically. The poem does not carry its own weight, and we have

he scales the wall
enters the garden of death
takes the peach
and death pounces

mister death who rushes out
from his villa
mister death who loves yellow

who wanted that yellow peach
for himself
mister death who signs papers
then eats

— a kind of loose prosy manner that is like the papier-mâché verse of Prévert or Ferlinghetti.

The book, however, is almost totally successful and the indications are that Denise Levertov is taking her place as a solidly important American poet.

THEATRE

Harold Clurman

SHAW'S *St. Joan* as the Old Vic presents it (City Center) is a reasonable play. It all makes sense. The lines are intelligently spoken (George Howe's Inquisitor, for example, is a model of relaxed speech, as John Clement's Warwick is a triumph of timing) and no point is missed. An assured professionalism is everywhere apparent. As a recorded reading the production might prove first-rate.

One of the chief attributes of Shaw's genius was his common sense. He was also a markedly didactic writer. *St. Joan* may be viewed as a lesson. But what makes Shaw Shaw, apart from the wit and fun in him, is his passion. The passion was moral and, if you will, intellectual, but passion none the less. Joan's peasantlike candor is the mask that Shaw puts on the girl for characterization; all the rest has a fanatic fire and the fine impetus of an arrow in flight. Shaw's Joan is irrepressibly voluble, obstinately zealous, impatiently right. She is a saint, and consequently a menace. There is no quelling her except by burning.

To oppose such a force as Joan there must be opposition of equal power and will. There must be conflict between well-matched antagonists. This is lacking in the Old Vic production. Barbara Jefford's Joan is faithful to the direction; that is to say, to the letter of the play. There is no flash or flame. She gives her opponents no trouble, and they are hardly more than slightly disturbed by her. The issues she raises carry little weight. The Church is not shaken; the English commander is able to dispose of the whole matter by a string of epigrams.

The play itself is one of Shaw's most ambitious and most eloquent: it stops just this side of poetry. It is moving not only because of the wonderful story it retells but because its basic quality is a certain sweetness and innocence. Under the intellection, the quips, the instruction, the classic (sometimes almost corny) stagecraft lie Shaw's kind soul and good heart. Shaw reveals himself as a pure man. The play holds.

WHAT I prefer and respect in Garson Kanin's *A Gift of Time* (Ethel Barrymore Theatre), based on *Death of a Man* by Lael Tucker Wertenbaker, is its theme: the facing of death.

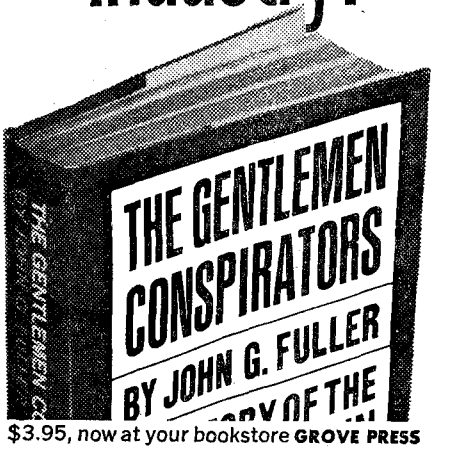
I believe with Spinoza that the wise man does not dwell on the thought of death but concerns himself entirely with living. But to "ignore" death, to fail to recognize its ever-present role in the life process, to fear the very mention of the word is to condemn oneself to perpetual immaturity.

What *A Gift of Time* does is to plant death squarely at the center of the stage and this for our theatre is altogether healthy. Just as a theatrical and cinematic taboo once prohibited mention of venereal disease, so to this day death as anything but a symbol, a hushed mystery, or as an escape to "tragedy" (the suicide which sometimes conveniently ends plays that are in need of strong curtains) is shunned in show business.

For this reason I found myself sympathetic to Mr. Kanin's play even while I felt it slipping away from me, not only into sentimentality (which doesn't necessarily offend me), but into banality. The best thing in the play as it now stands is Henry Fonda. He plays Charles Christian Wertenbaker, the writer who in his early fifties is stricken with cancer and faces it with courage and wisdom till all pleasure in, and hope of, a normal life are gone. At that point he kills himself with the consent and aid of his wife.

What deprives the play of stature (except for its "pioneering") is that, apart from their predicament, we never get to know anything about its two central characters. The death of a cipher is neither touching nor interesting. Wertenbaker and his wife are presented as nice Americans. He appreciates the good things of life — the five senses and the tenderness of women — and when he realizes the imminence of death he bids

THE STORY OF THE
Price-fixers in the Electrical Industry!



$3.95, now at your bookstore GROVE PRESS

Looking for a PUBLISHER?

Your book can be published, promoted, distributed by successful, reliable company noted for prompt service. All subjects. Free Editorial Report. Inquiries also invited from businesses, churches, etc. Send for Free Booklet. Vantage Press, Dept. 103, 120 W. 31 St., New York 1.

The Best Way To Get THE NATION

THE NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14
☐ One Year, $8
☐ Two Years, $14
☐ Three Years, $20
☐ 6 Months, $4
☐ Bill Me ☐ Payment Enclosed
(Foreign and Canadian Postage $1 a year extra)
NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ ZONE____ STATE_____
3-10-62

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his family and friends to do likewise: to live life to the full and to cherish it. His wife is devoted, staunch and sufficiently resolute to bear with her husband's determination to die according to his own code. Still, apart from the rather glib good humor of the jokes they crack and the air of affability with which they surround themselves and which they spread to others, we learn very little about them. They are merely pegs for pathos.

I remember a scene in a Russian novel in which a man in the last throes of tuberculosis curses the world and his comrades because they will continue to live and he must die. He was never a pleasant character in any part of the book nor was there a trace of the benign in the description of his agony. Yet for all its bitterness, his death became an exalted thing; we were made to feel that the expiring man alone seemed to know the value of life, even though his life had never been a happy one. The novelist was able to achieve this by giving the character a real identity with a relation to a fully dimensioned environment. In *A Gift of Time* the characters have the featureless benevolence of stock fiction — even though, as we know, the play is based on actual events and real people.

To return to the positive: I repeat most no stress or embelishments. His is an actor who never "does" much; he is always the "same." Yet he is always effective and in many instances — as at present — impressive. His acting springs from his mind or, to put it another way, it is the "thought" which produces the equivalent of action. He never overstates: he trusts the truth of what he thinks or feels to reveal itself with almost no stress or embellishments. His is the simplest type of realism. It is not based on observation or even profound intuition, but on fidelity to his own honest, uncomplex reaction to the situations of the play as he faces them.

FILMS

Robert Hatch

OPERATING on the premise that individuals as well as circumstances alter cases, André Cayatte has constructed in *Tomorrow Is My Turn* an ironic romance of World War II. Two Frenchmen, a journalist (Georges Rivière) and a pastry cook (Charles Aznavour), are captured during the brief period of their country's organized resistance. They are transported to a remote and idyllic German farm community and assigned as workers to the local burgomaster, a kind and god-fearing man. The journalist, determined to escape, employs against the daughter of the house a ruse of such unnecessary cruelty as to suggest that there is an element of sadism in his patriotic fervor. The little cook, assuming an ever-increasing responsibility in the family as the young and old males are drafted in the closing days of Germany's defeat, finds in this enemy hamlet a love and fulfillment impossible to him in the Paris kitchen owned by his wife. He is eventually liberated, he cannot bear the old life, and when last seen he is returning to the *Gemütlichkeit* of his new family.

The journalist, meanwhile, has been caught by the S.S. in Paris. He is saved from certain torture and probable death by his old girl friend, more recently turned collaborator, who buys him from the local commandant with the coin usual in such cases. Editor of a reanimated Paris daily, he is told he must choose between the job and marriage to his compromised sweetheart. He chooses the girl at the moment when she, in a gesture of self-sacrifice, is boarding a train to join a wealthy lover in South America.

I am sorry to go so minutely into detail, but it is a plot-ridden picture. Cayatte manipulates events and people in order to make the point that the conventional generalities of honor and courage may be cloaks for unworthiness and traps for the impetuous; that the small, simple people, on the contrary, have an instinct for decency and will find one another across national boundaries and despite Nazi frightfulness or what de Gaulle calls *La Gloire*. I'm sure that must be true (I suspect it is a tautology), but I am not at all clear as to what Cayatte means us to understand by his very didactic film. It is scarcely an anti-war picture, for although the journalist suffers grievously, he is the kind of headstrong egocentric who could be counted on to trip over his own expansive gestures in the most tranquil of times. And, of course, the war brings to the gentle baker a happiness he could never have found in the normal rut of his life. It takes a good deal of sentimentality to place him so snugly and that perhaps is what ails the picture — it looks in retrospect rather like a concoction.

MICHELANGELO ANTONIONI, who coped so brilliantly with Italy's wealthy delinquents in *L'Avventura*, returns to that society in *The Night*. Again it is a wickedly cerebral film, elegantly phrased in an elliptically documentary style (the scenes are specific but the continuity is implied), but for all that it is disconcertingly boring.

Boredom is, indeed, its subject, a dangerous theme for narrative. A Milanese couple (Marcello Mastroianni and Jeanne Moreau), married for some eight or ten years, are brought by the death of a friend who idealized them both to realize that their marriage has turned into a dust of mutual tolerance and domestic courtesy. The film follows them (Antonioni's cameras have a way of trailing his people) for much of a day and all of a night, as they circle around each other like tormented sleepwalkers.

The night is spent at the garden party of an industrialist who is possessed of Medici wealth but quite devoid of Medici zest. This scene gives Antonioni a chance to pin another handful of the Italian new rich into his collection. He is savagely expert at this work, and the best parts of his picture are the sardonic vignettes and portrait miniatures.

But the main theme drags because characters drugged by depression convey too little to demand attention. It is not necessary to believe that the hero, described as a successful novelist, has any talent beyond narcissism, or that his wife is capable of anything more stimulating than self-pity. Their day and night of yellow self-loathing and mutual revulsion are real enough, and I can see that the exercise in total moral debility could be professionally fascinating to the director and his actors. But people in the dumps are interesting and worth sympathy only in terms of what one knows of their normal presence. And of this couple the dumps is all we are given.

I SUPPOSE I should have known better, but repeated public assurances that a picture called *Lover Come Back* is a work of astonishing risibility sent me to Radio City Music Hall in a mood of chuckling anticipation. The laugh was on me.

There is nothing wrong with the plot of this commercial riot. In the nature of farce, it is a fabrication of wild implausibility, but there is a kind of geniality to the lunacy and it pokes a mildly searching finger into the ribs of Madison

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Avenue. With the right personnel it might have been ludicrous enough.

Rock Hudson and Doris Day are not that personnel. They make a toothsome couple, in a Vic Tanney way, but they seem almost perversely innocent of the wiles of slapstick and the timing of farce. And they got — or took — no instruction from their director, Delbert Mann. Heavy-handed and sheepish, they are addicted to bugging their eyes, patently unconvinced by the frantic inventions of the plot and overpowered by the pastel luxury of the sets (admittedly, the sets are overpowering).

A comedian of the somewhat manufactured but nevertheless real talents of Bob Hope could have wrung some strenuous fun out of *Lover Come Back*, but Miss Day and Mr. Hudson are to comedy what the Rockettes are to ballet.

ART

Max Kozloff

WHILE such leading masters as de Kooning, Rothko and Guston are tottering on the edge of becoming the grand old men of American art, more attention — perhaps too much — is now being given to its ever-younger luminaries. If his retrospective at the Whitney is any indication, however, it appears that we have been neglecting all along one of our elder statesmen. It has been Paul Burlin's fortune never to have got entangled with the phalanx of ideas and intuitions that became the gestural painting of the New York school. His ties with Europe were both older and more personal, as his roots in American experience were inextricably deeper, than those of any Abstract Expressionist I can name. How disconcerting, then, for a veteran of the Armory Show of 1913, a man as substantial but far less known than his contemporaries, Max Weber, Hans Hofmann and Stuart Davis, to throw us off balance at this late date by his fresh way of seeing things.

The Burlin show currently at the Whitney starts us with a *Figure of a Woman*, 1912, and thereupon hops rather quickly through the twenties and thirties, to stop at any length only with a group of canvases executed during World War II. His earlier work was not particularly distinctive — unless a fuller representation would have expanded its range, which I doubt. He seems to have had a tart, anecdotal style, which could flirt with Picasso, but more typically drew back into quasi-Expressionist renditions of the American scene.

In the forties, he loosened into a more generalized metaphorical idiom, wherein one sees cross-eyed angels and clowns, dislocated limbs, fangs and girders. These were all done in knobby, stunted forms and bright colors; for all their fantasy, they escape being quite the period pieces that literally hundreds of similar works from that time have become — because of Burlin's no-nonsense, completely unsentimental, point of view. It is the odd combination of a very prosy imagination working within a poetic "mode" (in *Tiger, Tiger, Burning Bright*, 1941-42, for instance) that unsettles you, and successfully dares you to label his work too comfortably. Here Burlin set the stage for the pugnacious gentleness that was to come, an approach that defies affection or even, to some extent, sensual pleasure, yet cannot conceal its basically human sense of pathos.

FOR the rest, the Whitney documents the artist's production during the fifties with particular, overweighted, but completely welcome emphasis on the last four years. It is a curious revelation to see a development in Burlin that parallels the exodus from Neo-Cubism undertaken by so many of his younger colleagues, although he was far removed from their more overtly decorative mainstream. And then, since he came upon his mobility much later in his career than they, the whole gravity of his experience registered differently; so that one has to speak — there is no other word — of a certain "engagement" in his canvases of the last decade. Beneath the greater frenzy of the means, a movingly gnarled and arthritic set of forms, and underlying too, his bumptious calligraphy, there remain spasmodic and convulsed recollections of figures and scenes.

Compared to de Kooning's women, Burlin's imagery is far less enraged, or even conscious. Yet, as if to thwart the always threatening harmony that experience begets, he will bowl a mass obstreperously out into our space, as in *It Is*, or cantilever it precariously toward an edge, as in *Hammer*. These are the antidotes to an exasperation that occasionally flags, but which, in any

Owl

Let us suppose the truth:
I am an owl by virtue
Of my belief, in owls.

The owl swoops, like a hawk;
Is still, like a rock; shrieks,
Meditates, like God
like air.

I believe in owls. And,
What is more, what is in fact
The exact same thing, as you
Will by now have guessed,
I am

Hawk, rock, rodent, wail
& God.
Which troubles me, which makes
Of me, myself. An owl.

Robert S. Sward

"A FINE, MOVING... ARRESTING... AND TIMELY PLAY."—Taubman, Times
ERIC PORTMAN
GLADYS COOPER
ZIA MOHYEDDIN
IN A NEW PLAY
a passage to India
also starring
ANNE MEACHAM
by SANTHA RAMA RAU
from the novel by E. M. FORSTER
PRICES: Mon. thru Thurs. Evgs.: $6.90, 5.75, 4.80, 4.05, 3.60, 2.90. Fri., Sat. Evgs.: $7.50, 6.90, 5.75, 4.80, 4.05, 3.60. Mats. Wed. and Sat.: $4.80, 4.30, 3.60, 2.90, 2.30. Enclose stamped, self-addressed envelope
AMBASSADOR THEA. 215 W. 49th St. N.Y. 19

$179,741 to Writers

Your unpublished manuscript may be valuable! Our famous subsidy plan has returned $179,741 to writers in the past six years. We will publish, advertise, distribute your book and pay you 40% of retail price. Send for FREE BROCHURE N.
Pageant Press, 101 Fifth Ave., New York 3

Buy Your Books

through *The Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book (except paperbacks) at the regular retail price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the retail price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
THE READER'S SERVICE DIVISION
333 Sixth Ave. New York 14, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

event, are not that often required by an execution habitually short-breathed and tumultuous. In turn, the color is less eloquent than the handling; it tempers and holds itself back, even if the predominant hues are primarily blue, red and yellow, with the addition of black, white and orange or green. Their odd brackishness indicates less a puritanism, though, than consonance with his sinewy form. Occasionally the whole composition will be aerated — and here I am thinking of *Rose, White Upright* — by large expanses of unpainted areas, and a higher keyed palette, such that you are made aware, not merely of motor activity, but of images and solids contained within the rectangular borders.

I AM thus impressed by a momentum in the Burlin show which, judging from the flaccid late styles of most painters over seventy today, I had little reason to expect. Davis and Hofmann, of course, show a comparable elation, but more as an abbreviation of their established styles than as a response to any new point of departure. Hofmann does have an incredible *brio*, but it appears legislated into his work, a mere reflex. Burlin, however, thinks and anguishes and discovers: no one paints younger for his age than he. In his grittiness and unpredictability there is a moral value that is admirable. Behind it, too, is a poetry which we have to flush out for ourselves. His spiritual quest, if that is not too bloodless an expression, is very much in progress, and we can by no means feel finished with his art. It is too invigorating.

PERSONALS

RECENT WIDOW, age 25, wishes non-authoritarian woman or couple with or without children to share interests, house, food and care of two very young children. Also may soon be wanting partner **in ski-lodge. Write Box 27, West Dover Vermont.**

TOO EARLY? Cost too much? Can't afford it? **ALL WRONG!** Now is the time to get that Air Conditioner for as low as $155.00. All makes including Carrier, Fedders. Free survey to insure proper unit. **STANDARD BRAND DIST., 27 Union Square (cor. 16th St.), 3rd floor, N.Y. GR 3-7819—CH 2-0061.**

SITUATION WANTED

INTELLIGENT, industrious young man with literary and musical interests, seeks stimulating day or night work N.Y.C. **Call UN 5-8260—9 A.M. to 1 P.M.**

Advertising Rates
CLASSIFIED
74c a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum
CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
$7.42 per inch (minimum)
The NATION
333 Sixth Ave., New York 14, N. Y.
CHelsea 2-8400

LETTERS

(*Continued from inside front cover*)

Tasks of Counterguerrilla Action"). Moreover, we repeatedly spell out the absolute necessity for guerrillas to win popular support, and have illustrated this need by concrete examples (pp. 18, 20-21, 26-27, 29-30, 32-35, 40, the diagram on page 44, and especially pp. 61-62). Nor have we merely alluded to political factors. On the contrary, our book outlines and discusses those specific political forces that seem to us to play major roles in guerrilla warfare. . . .

JOHN W. SHY
Princeton, N.J. PETER PARET

Dear Sirs: There are, of course, many good things in *Guerrillas in the 1960's*, and indeed I quoted some of them in my review. I have carefully reread the pages the authors mention and cannot find anything in them that causes me to modify my views. Although in some respects an excellent introduction to guerrilla warfare, the book does not seem to me to fulfill its purpose as stated in the Introduction, namely to provide a guide for official American action in the use of guerrillas. Nothing is said about the problem of *identification* with the population; nor, in dealing with counter-guerrilla or counterterrorist action, about the enormous number of troops that are tied down (in Cyprus, at the height of the troubles, a few dozen EOKA gunmen tied down some 30,000 British forces); nor, in dealing with terrorism, do the authors bring out the important point that terrorists almost invariably kill more people from their own side than from the enemy side. These are, in my opinion, important omissions. BRIAN CROZIER
London, England

Better Guns than Schools?

Dear Sirs: I quote from your editorial, "The Great God GNP" (February 24, 1962): "What we should be comparing is the percentage of our GNP that contributes to human welfare with the corresponding percentage of the *enemy's*. The rest is *waste*, whether it is in the form of ICBMs or electric toothbrushes." (Emphasis mine.) Do you really feel that increasing our human welfare and decreasing our power (ICBMs) will make the enemy fall dead at our feet? Can we deter attack by having a higher level of material welfare?

In short, do you believe that the Soviets and the Red Chinese would hesitate for one minute to conquer us by brutal force, if they felt we could not (or would not) retaliate? D. L. FOLKERS
Winchester, Mass.

(*Continued from page 216*)

His pet lecture, says Coffin, is "Why Millionaires, College Professors, and Ministers Become Communists."

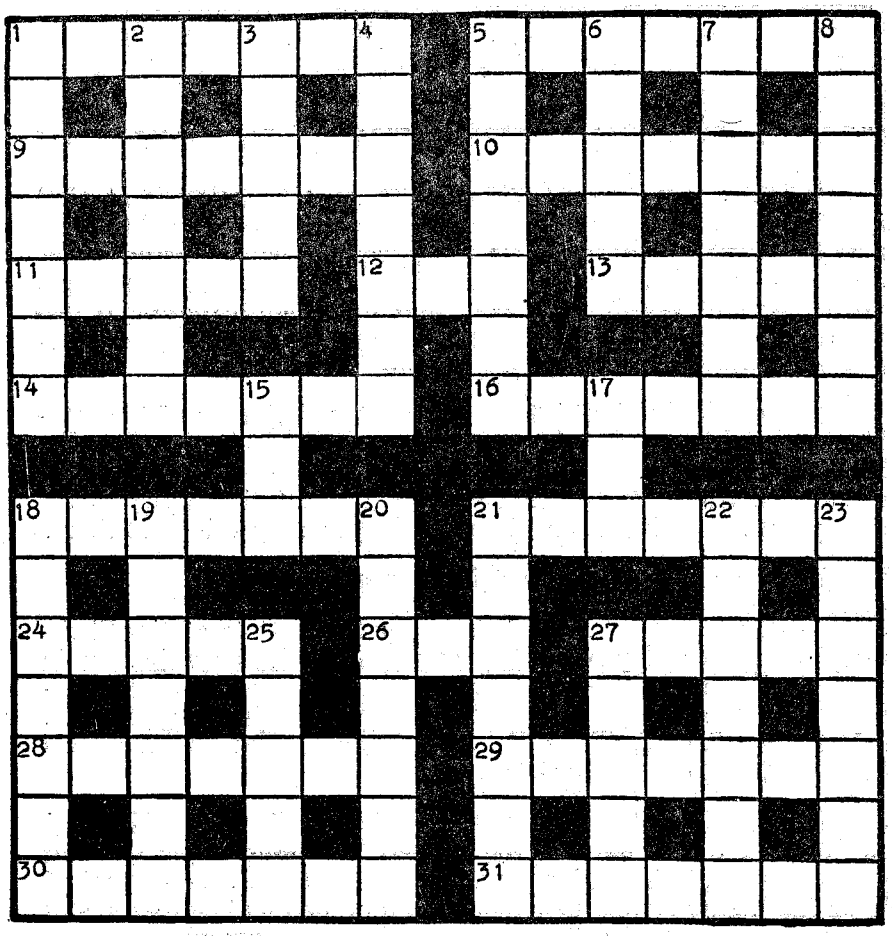
THE VARIOUS reports from the South, the Midwest and California reveal the ease with which administrators, teachers and board members can lend themselves to political indoctrination of a certain kind if it is offered as a form of anti-communism. A teacher of social studies who used his classroom as a forum for advancing his liberal views would soon find himself without a job, no matter how anti-Communist he asserted his liberalism to be. But he and his administrators, board members and fellow teachers can boldly support and spread extreme right-wing political views. They can even see to it that knowledge of communism is withheld from students if it would create student doubt as to the truth of certain right-wing premises.

What is most needed in the schools is an objective study of comparative political and economic systems, such as was recommended in a recent report of a committee of the American Economics Association. This comparative approach would serve no political party or faction, and would give students an opportunity to understand communism, both as a theory and as an existing system. The premises that right-wingers would have students embrace as divine truths would be treated as issues or ideas to be examined and appraised reflectively. The habit of regarding ideas reflectively best characterizes what most thoughtful citizens mean by Americanism, and this meaning of Americanism cannot be indoctrinated by the methods of fanatical anti-Communists.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 953

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS:

1 Ran in more-than-half-back style, seeing an opening. (7)
9 Does it suggest a country of mad men? (7)
10 Distinctive dress, yet without diversity. (7)
11, 12, and 27 across Is there no possibility left of a correct decision from the jury? (5, 3, 5)
14 In the manner of the upright man?
16 If this judge is in court, might he have to look up at the contestants? (7)
18 A source of worry for men in the wrong? (7)
24 Do those with income make it? (For those in the trade carp at it!) (5)
29 The repository casts a sort of light on a very busy place. (7)
30 In one side, at least, the vessel should be hot! (7)
31 Everything in the sort of 11 is of the highest order. (7)

DOWN:

1 After this, you could get let out of the plant. (7)
2 We should be raised in a life of something other than this, if we like rich food! (7)
3 and 5 across Not exactly a weekly newsstand, to dodge the issue temporarily! (5, 3, 4)
4 The settling quality of ancient Iran? (7)
5 Sink like Oglethorpe, perhaps. (7)
6 and 18 down Might one carry on so to make a dormer? (5, 3, 4)
7 "Enter!" as a command? It's perfectly correct! (2, 5)
8 The bole of Browning's England. (3, 4)
15, 21 across and 13 across Saul's spirit was termed familiar. (3, 5, 2, 5)
17 and 26 Does Pop seem a little paunchy to her? (6)
19 Does it suggest a water wheel? (7)
20 Was this the old command to mount an attack? (2, 5)
21 and 28 across There's evidently no peace talk to such an army man! (7, 7)
22 Jack Dauntless deserves her, though she sounds like a dope! (7)
23 Might be got back by fine action. (7)
25 Liliaceous genus. (5)
27 Does it suggest you'll get ten-fifty, if you win? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 952

ACROSS: 1 Celebrated; 6 Used; 10 and 11 Pronouncements; 12 Ibid; 13 Castigated; 15 Eaglets; 16 Dilemma; 17 Unguent; 20 Mordant; 22 Inaugurate; 23 Slug; 25 Nesters; 26 and 3 Bring to book; 27 East; 28 Aspersions. DOWN: 1 Captive audience; 2 and 18 Looking glasses; 4 Annuals; 5 Excited; 7 Sanctum; 8 Disadvantageous; 9 Smugglers; 14 Sea eagles; 19 Thrusts; 20 Mutable; 21 Allegro; 24 Aids.

PUBLICATIONS

L'EXPRESS

the leading liberal paper in France today. Send 10c for your copy. HOWARD PUBLICATIONS, 1475 Broadway, New York 36.

AFRIQUE action

The liberal voice of emerging Africa
Edited in Tunis, in French
Send 25c for your copy
HOWARD PUBLICATIONS
1475 Broadway New York 36

SOCIALIST BOOKS

Catalog and literature, FREE. New York Labor News Company, Dept. Q1, 61 Cliff Street, New York 38.

LITERARY SERVICES

WRITERS! FREE LIST of top-notch USA markets for short stories, articles, books and plays. Write for your free copy today! Literary Agent Mead, 915 Broadway, N.Y. 10.

EDUCATION

POST-CARD CORRESPONDENCE.
Tanach-Talmud Institute
47 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.
ANCIENT SPIRITUAL TREASURES.

LEARN WHILE ASLEEP, self-hypnosis, prayer-plant experiments! Details, catalog FREE. Research Association, Box 24-TN, Olympia, Washington.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

Complete Personality Analysis from Your Handwriting
Fee $5.00
ALFRED KANFER
62 Leroy St., New York 14, N. Y.
Endorsed by scientific authorities, hospitals, insurance companies, colleges, psych. journals.
Recipients of research grants

SERVICES

MOVING? Professional moving at competitive rates. Anytime, anywhere. Licensed, insured, experienced. THE COVERED WAGON. ALgonquin 5-1788 (N.Y.C.)

WE MOVE YOU WITHOUT TEARS — Economical, insured moving and storage. Vans, wagons—NYC, resorts, long distance. The Padded Wagon, Inc., AL 5-8343 (NYC), 569 Hudson Street, New York 14.

FRANK SANTORO—Cabinetmaker—Carpenter—Custom Painting. AL 5-8343. Padded Wagon (NYC).

RESORT

ONLY 50 MILES FROM N.Y.C.

Beautiful 8 mile lake. Golf at a magnificent Country Club. Dancing. Entertainment. Superb Cuisine. Fireproof Bldg. Elevator. Special "single" weekends. Group facilities. In New York City call at local rate.
FAirbanks 5-7227
MAhopac 8-3449
FOREST house
LAKE MAHOPAC, N. Y.

Printed in the U. S. A. by RCR Publication Printers Corp., N. Y. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CALIFORNIAN

Featured: An Interview With Mr. Chairman

Inside the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities

The West's Sensational (But Also Scholarly) Revival of Muckraking; Now in its 3rd Year

Whether you live in California or not, this article is of vital importance to you, for it is probably the most revealing study of a red-hunting committee ever to appear in print. Furthermore, although it is a California Senate committee, its range extends all the way to Washington, D.C. and the misinformation it disseminates is used by U.S. congressmen and by schools, businesses and organizations all over the nation.

An amazingly blunt interview with the chairman of the committee, some deep probing into the career of the man who writes its reports, and a lengthy dissection of the latest report combine to give you rare insight into the operation of a red-hunting legislative body. Of special interest to readers of The Nation will be the material dealing wtih Carey McWilliams, editor of this magazine, who has been pilloried for years by the committee.

This article appears in the March issue along with the following articles:

FOLLOW-UPS ON THE CRUSADE —**THE CALIFORNIAN** is in the home state of the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade, the most powerful professional anti-communist organization in the U.S. today, and has been able to compile more factual information on it than any other publication. This particular article deals with the Crusade's use of a Russian fascist as a lecturer. Past issues have dealt with other lecturers like W. Cleon Skousen, and with documented facts on the backers of the Crusade: Richfield Oil Co., Prentice-Hall, etc.

ANALYSES OF THE READER'S DIGEST —For the last few months **THE CALIFORNIAN** has used its "Dissecting the Press" feature to hit hard at the Digest. The latest issue features the Digest's involvement in a Food & Drug Admin. action against enzyme tablets, the refusal of staff writer James Daniel to testify on his highly criticized article on unemployment statistics, and publication of an ad for Anacin that is under litigation by the Federal Trade Commission.

GENERAL DYNAMICS INVOLVED IN PRICE-FIXING RING —General Dynamics Corp., one of the nation's largest defense contractors, has been under fire from **THE CALIFORNIAN** because of its use of John Birch Society material in its security program. This article describes the ring, including General Dynamics and Olin Mathieson Chemical Corp., which rigged bids on government contracts and suppressed competition until the Justice Department caught up with it.

The *January* issue featured:

Brass, Birchers and Big Business; On Newsweek and Chester Bowles; Miami Herald Knew About Cuba Invasion Two Months in Advance; "Citizen Hearst" on Japan, Dec. 3, 1941.

The *February* issue featured:

How Major Oil Companies Fix Prices and Coerce Gas Station Operators (testimony from dealers of Richfield, Texaco, Union and Standard Oil); An Interview with Atty. Gen. Stanley Mosk (the tough trust-buster of California who is rising to the top of the Democratic Party); Historic Court Decision on Capital Punishment.

To: THE CALIFORNIAN, Dept. N-1, 308 Delger Bldg., 1005 Market St., San Francisco 3, Calif.

I enclose ☐ $5 for a one-year subscription ☐ $8 for a two-year subscription
(Foreign please add $1 a year postage)

I understand that I am to receive **FREE**, included in the subscription price, the **JANUARY, FEBRUARY** and **MARCH** issues of your magazine.

Name ..... **Address** .....

City ..... **Zone** ..... **State** .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED